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DENNIS GRANVILLE

DENNIS GRANVILLE, ÆTAT. 4.

THE LIFE

OF

THE HONBLE. AND VERY REVD.

DENNIS GRANVILLE D.D.

DEAN AND ARCHDEACON OF DURHAM

AND

CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY KING CHARLES II.

BY

REV. ROGER GRANVILLE M.A.

LATE RECTOR OF BIDEFORD

AUTHOR OF

"A HISTORY OF BIDEFORD" "BIDEFORD AND THE CIVIL WAR"

"THE HISTORY OF THE GRANVILLE FAMILY"

EXETER

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PREFACE.

CANON OVERTON, in his *Life in the English Church, 1660—1714*, describes Dean Granville as a sort of clerical Pepys, whose "Remains" give almost as racy and naïve an account of ecclesiastical, as the immortal "Diary" does of civil life at that period. These "Remains" were first published by the Surtees Society, under the able editorship of the late Canon Ornsby, in 1860, and comprised a number of letters and other documents, partly written by the Dean, partly addressed to him, which had been collected and bound up together by Dr. Hunter, the well known Durham antiquary. The most considerable portion of the collection consists of a manuscript copy of two sermons delivered by the Dean in Durham Cathedral previous to his abandonment of his several dignities and preferments, on the descent of the Prince of Orange upon the shores of England, and of five letters which he shortly afterwards addressed respectively to his brother, the Earl of Bath, the Bishop of Durham, the Prebendaries of the Cathedral, the Clergy of his Archdeaconry, and his Curates at his two livings of Easington and Sedgefield. Soon after the Surtees Society had published this volume of "Remains," a large mass of additional matter relating to Dean Granville came to light, the existence of which was previously unknown. These papers

were discovered in the repositories of the Bodleian Library, amongst a quantity of unsorted manuscripts belonging to the Rawlinson Collection; and the Council of the Society at once authorised Canon Ornsby to select such documents as tended to illustrate the state of the Church at that period as regards her doctrine and discipline, and the moral and social habits of the Clergy. These were published in 1865.

This present work, which has the sanction of the Surtees Society, is to a great extent a reproduction of the contents of these two volumes, arranged chronologically, with the addition of certain other documents of a more personal and private character. But a great deal of the unpublished matter in the Rawlinson MSS. is of a nature that cannot well be given to the public, being the secret communings of a man with his God, and, though two centuries have passed since they were penned, they must remain private and unread. This is especially the case with certain "flying, broken, and imperfect Thoughts" penned by him during his stay in France, 1676-79, a period of retreat in which he dealt very closely with his spiritual life, and from which may be dated his more thorough conversion to God.

Though full of faults and failings, of which no one was more conscious than himself, the life of Dean Granville, lived at a most interesting period of the history of our Church and Nation, cannot fail to command respect; his devoted attachment to the Church of England, and his unswerving loyalty to King James, for whom he sacrificed the highest and most lucrative preferments, rather than swear allegiance to one whom he regarded as an invader and usurper, are traits in his character that will ever mark him as a high-minded man, deserving of much admiration.

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DENNIS GRANVILLE.

CHAPTER I.

DENNIS GRANVILLE, the subject of this Memoir, was a son of the famous house which claims descent through the Earls of Corbeil from the Dukes of Normandy. Richard the Fearless, the third Duke, had a son, Maliger, or Mauger, who obtained the Earldom of Corbeil by his marriage in 1012 with Germaine, the daughter and heiress of Aubert, second Earl of Corbeil; which title descended to his second son, Hamon, nicknamed Dentatus, from having been born, it is said, with teeth. He is styled Earl of Corbeil, and in several of the old French histories the seigneuries of Thorigny, Granville, Breuilly, Creuilly, Bercy, and Maisy, are assigned to him. He was chiefly celebrated for the part which he and his brother, Guillerin, took in the rebellion of the principal Norman Barons against the accession of the young Duke William, on the ground of his illegitimacy. He fell at the celebrated battle of the Valley of the Dunes, whilst valiantly attacking the King of France, who had come to the assistance of the young Duke. He had married the widow of Hugh the Great, Duke of France, sister to the Emperor Otho, and daughter of Henri l'Oiseleur. By her, Hamon Dentatus left three sons, namely, Robert Fitzhamon; Richard, called, as was customary, de Granville, after one of his father's lordships; and Hamon. They all three settled in England, the two eldest having accompanied their cousin, Duke William, and assisted in

the conquest of the country. Hamon, the youngest, was called Dapifer, and was one of the principal landowners in the east of England, but dying without issue left his great possessions to his eldest brother, who is best known to fame as the Conqueror of South Wales. In an old deed he is described as "by the grace of God Prince of Glamorganshire; Earl of Corbeil, Thorigny, and Granville; Lord of Gloucester, Bristol, Tewkesbury, and Cardiff; Governor of Wales; near kinsman unto the King, and General of all his Highness's army in France." William Rufus bestowed upon him all the Honour of Gloucester, which spread itself into many counties. He fell wounded at the siege of Falaise, 1107, but leaving no male issue, his vast possessions passed by the marriage of his eldest daughter, Mabel, to Robert the Consul, natural son of Henry I., who was accordingly created Earl of Gloucester.

According to Norman law, however, the Norman titles descended to his next brother, Richard de Granville, or Grenville, as the name was also spelt; who accordingly became fifth Earl of Corbeil. He had had bestowed upon him by William Rufus the grant of many manors in Devon, Cornwall, and Somerset, and, having married one of the daughters of Walter Giffard, Earl of Buckingham and Longueville, became possessed as well of much property in Buckinghamshire, which his younger sons inherited, and became the progenitors of the Grenvilles of Wootton, the ancestors of the Dukes of Buckingham.

The senior branch retained the Devon and Cornwall properties, where they resided at Bideford, and Stowe, in the parish of Kilkhampton, on the Cornish border; and the brilliant achievements of several of its members placed the family in the foremost ranks of the celebrated historical houses of this country. In his *Worthies of Devon*, Prince,

no doubt willingly enough, offers a compromise with Cornwall as to the ownership of the family, and quotes Dugdale and Fuller to the effect that both Cornwall and Devon are so fruitful of illustrious men that each can spare to the other a hero or two, even if wrongfully deprived of her own; even Carew has a somewhat similar passage, in which he says, "The merits of this ancient family are so many and so great that ingrossed they would make one county proud, which, divided, would make two happy."

"Never a Grenville wanted loyalty," was the Cornish saying, and in the breast of no member of this ancient house was the spirit of loyalty more inherent than in that of the high-spirited and gallant Sir Bevil Granville, one of the bravest of that devoted band who shed their life-blood in the cause of their Sovereign during the unhappy wars which cast so deep a gloom over the seventeenth century. He was slain on the field of Lansdowne, near Bath, on the 6th of July, 1643; and the following enthusiastic testimony to his character is given by Lord Clarendon:—

"That which would have clouded any victory and made the loss of others less spoken of was the death of Sir Bevil Granville. He was indeed an excellent person, whose activity, interest, and reputation were the foundation of what had been done in Cornwall, and his temper and affection so public that no accident which happened could make any impression on him, and his example kept others from taking anything ill, or at least seeming to do so. In a word, a brighter courage and a gentler disposition were never married together to make the most cheerful and innocent conversation."

Sir Bevil had married Grace, daughter of Sir George Smith, one of the leading merchants of Exeter, whose elder daughter was married to Sir Thomas Monk, of Potheridge,

the father of the celebrated George Monk, Duke of Albemarle. He left three sons and four daughters, namely John, who was created Earl of Bath at the Restoration; Bernard; and Dennis, the subject of this memoir; Elizabeth, the wife of Sir Peter Prideaux; Grace, who married Colonel Robert Fortescue; Bridget, whose first husband was Simon Leach, of Cadeleigh, near Crediton, and her second, Sir Thomas Higgons, of Greewell, near Odiham, Hants; and Joanna, the wife of Colonel Richard Thornhill, of Ollantegh, Kent.

Dennis was the youngest of these seven children. He was born at Stowe on the 13th of February, 1636-7. Of his early years we have no account. He was only six years old when his father was killed, and four years afterwards his mother, broken-hearted and sorrowful at the total overthrow of the Royal cause in the west, to which so much life and treasure had been sacrificed, sickened and died, and was laid to rest, by the side of her brave husband, in Kilkhampton Church, on the 8th of June, 1647. Dennis doubtless received his earliest religious impressions from her careful and reverent teaching. Few as are the fragments handed down to us after a lapse of two and a half centuries, every letter written by Lady Grace serves to enshrine some characteristic of a sweet and noble woman, firm, sagacious, and intensely loving towards her husband and her children; each presents to us a vivid picture of successive stages of her history; from the letters of her earlier married years, when her life was rich in happiness, to those of later days, when, overwhelmed with sorrow she penned words which must find an answering echo in the hearts of all. Compared with that of her heroic husband, her character must needs seem drawn with softer outlines, yet, gentle as she was, she bravely bare her part in the

troubles of the time, and endured her crowning sorrow with a patient courage, which makes us glad that such as she have lived, and left so sweet a record of their lives.

It would appear that Dennis had been designed for the Church from his earliest years. In a letter to the Earl of Bath he mentions the intention of his parents to devote one of their sons to the special service of God in His Church. The lot, as he expresses it, fell upon him, and he fulfilled their pious intention by "devoting himself thereto, honestly with good will to God's service and without designe, in a time of adversity, when there was small hopes of being Dean of Durham."

Not many of his ancestors, apparently, had taken Holy Orders, yet of those who did two had filled the most important positions in the English Church, namely, William de Corbeil, who was thirty-sixth Archbishop of Canterbury, and William de Granville, who was the forty-first Archbishop of York. Besides these there was a Richard Granville, who was Rector of Parkham, in Devon, and Canon of Exeter Cathedral in 1419. But, as a rule, the Granvilles had been mainly men of the sword, serving their country by land and sea.

It has been supposed that Dennis was educated at Eton, inasmuch as he was at one time an aspirant to a fellowship there, but beyond this supposition nothing is known for certain as to his earliest place of education. Before the civil war had broken out, Sir Bevil, it appears, had converted Stowe into a kind of academy for all the young men of family in the county, providing the best masters for all kinds of education, and the children of his neighbours shared the advantage with his own. But this was before Dennis's time, and it is possible that he was sent to a public school.

However that may be, he was admitted as a gentleman commoner of Exeter, that famous old West Country College at Oxford, where his father and an elder brother, who died young, had been educated before him. "1658, 6th Aug., Dionysius Grenvil, equitis fil nat minor," so runs the University record. He continued at Oxford till Michaelmas, 1660, when he was, amongst others, created Master of Arts in the University, an honour which he is said to have owed to the "favour of his great relations," and to which old Anthony ă Wood seems to have thought he was scarcely then entitled, inasmuch as "he had been no sufferer for the King's cause, nor ejected his college, because entered therein after the Parliament Visitors had turned out all the Royalists." But if Dennis himself had been no sufferer for the King's cause, his family had been, and his father and two brothers had performed great and signal services for both Charles I. and Charles II., the two latter having been, in conjunction with their cousin, George Monk, mainly instrumental in bringing about the Restoration of the Monarchy, "a transaction," wrote the grateful King, "that shall never be forgot in history, but serve for an eternal illustration of this family, if indeed it can receive any; no subjects ever surpassing them in valour, nobleness of birth, or in loyalty and fidelity to the Crown, which they have shewn in all ages since the Conquest." Consequently honours and emoluments were simply showered upon the family. Sir John Granville was created Baron Granville of Kilkhampton and Bideford; Viscount Granville of Lansdowne, and Earl of Bath, and was also permitted to use the titles of Earl of Corbeil and Lord of Thorigny and Granville, as his ancestors in Norman times had done. He was also appointed Groom of the Stole and first Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the King; Bernard Granville was

appointed Gentleman of the Horse and of the Bedchamber to the King, and all the younger children of Sir Bevil were afterwards granted, by special warrant, dated 27th August, 1675, the privileges, honours, and precedence enjoyed by the sons and daughters of an Earl.

It was small wonder, therefore, that the University of Oxford should have bestowed the honorary degree of M.A. on young Dennis, or that the King should have made him, immediately upon his ordination in 1661, one of his chaplains-in-ordinary.

The time of the Restoration, especially to one in the position of Dennis Granville, was scarcely a propitious season for preparing for the solemn duty of taking Holy Orders. A wild wave of enthusiasm and of demonstrative loyalty passed over Oxford, as it did over the whole country, and there can be little doubt that Dennis, during the last year of his University career, contracted that unhappy habit of extravagance which caused a load of debts to weigh him down throughout his life. In after years he urged his nephew, Roger Prideaux, then at Oxford, to delay entering into Holy Orders as soon as he reached the canonical age, in order that he might "for some yeares (or for one yeare at least), addict himselfe to divinity, and devotion, and such studies as may make him a good priest and churchman, and converse a little with men abroad in the world, who doe not smell of a Colledge," and he expressed his regret that such had not been his fortune before he went into Orders, in which he had made "God knowes, more hast than good speed," and he added, "I feele the truth of what I say by sad experience, and am therefore better quallifyed to preach to others; I have been labouring 20 yeares to doe some things that regularly should have been done before I was ordained, which I

now despair of ever doing, and for an opportunity of doing which I would give the best of my preferments."

Yet it must not be thought that he took Holy Orders without a deep sense of the responsibilities and sacredness of such a step. The following letter, written to a fellow student, Mr. George Trosse, upon the subject, shows us his feelings. It is dated from Cadeleigh, the home of his newly-widowed sister, Mrs. Leach, near Crediton, just two months after Charles II. had marched to London in triumph, and when, therefore, the wave of excitement was at its height.

DENNIS GRANVILLE TO MR. GEORGE TROSSE.

"CADELEIGH, *July* 28, 1660.

"DEAR FRIEND,—I had according to my promise written to you before this time, had I gotten into Devonshire as soon as I imagin'd I should. I met with an obstacle in my journey down, which oblig'd me to go towards London, where I tarried near a month's space, and was hasten'd thence upon the sad occasion which I believe you have heard of long ere this, I mean the loss of my brother Leache, who is so much lamented in these parts as any man hath been these many years. And truly, I think, very justly having great ground to conclude that God hath sanctified His dispensations towards him unto his soul, by several passages before and since his death, and that he would have prov'd a great instrument of God's glory and of good unto his country, had it been the will of God to have granted him a long life. But, blessed be God, howsoever He disposeth of us; for His dealings with us are for the best, tho' they appear to us otherwise. I do yet, I bless God, hold my resolutions, by His assistance, of undertaking the ministry, and hope that, by His grace, I shall continue in them;

which that I may do I beg your prayers and the prayers of all good Christians; for I am not insensible of the many difficulties which I have to struggle with; but, I praise God, where I feared I might have met with some, I have not yet met with any, I mean amongst my own relations; for I'll assure you that not one of them hath us'd any argument to dissuade me from being a minister. I confess some others have occasionally done it, but I trust in God that the devil and his instruments shall never, in this particular, prevail against me: though reflecting upon mine own infirmities, I might justly fear it, did I not also look to my Saviour at the right hand of God, making intercession for me, Who hath promised not to suffer His servants to be tempted above what they are able, but will also with the temptation make a way to escape.

"Dear friend, pray let me hear from you; for I value nothing more than conference with God's children by letters, if not by personal discourse; and I hope we have a Christian love for each other, though perchance we differ in opinion in some trivial circumstances. But it is my principle, (and I hope ever will be) that difference in judgment, when not in fundamentals, is not a sufficient ground (as now it daily is) for breach of charity, where there is hope of sincerity. But no more of this at present. I do heartily pray that God by His Holy Spirit would give us both a right judgment in all things and show us the truth in whatsoever we err or are deceived. I do once more desire your prayers in a particular manner (you shall not want mine) being often something startled at the difficulties I discern in a Christian course of life; especially in undertaking that weighty calling which makes the Apostle cry out 'Who is sufficient for these things?' Well, friend, farewell. I beseech God to preserve you. I intended once

to discourse further with you, but I am prevented. I shall ever be

"Your friend and servant in the Lord,

"DENIS GRENVILE.

"For Mr. George Trosse at
his chamber in Pembroke
College in Oxford."

Dennis Granville was ordained deacon in 1661, by Bishop Sanderson, and his life-friend, William Beveridge, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, was ordained with him. His brother, Lord Bath, presented him to the family living of Kilkhampton, to which he was instituted the 10th of July in that year, in succession to Nicholas Monk, brother to the Duke of Albemarle, who had been promoted to the Bishopric of Hereford, to which he was consecrated the 7th of January, 1661, as a reward for the part which he had taken in the negociations which led to the Restoration.

Although Dennis Granville held the living of Kilkhampton for nearly three years there is no evidence of his having resided there, and no record of his incumbency appears in the Church books of that parish. Apparently, he was much in London the first year after his ordination, and the King having made him one of his Chaplains-in-Ordinary, he had doubtless Court duties to perform. Whilst in London he met his future wife, Anne, the youngest daughter of Bishop Cosin, who was at that time taking a leading part in the Savoy conference, to which the revision of the Prayer Book had been entrusted. Miss Cosin was staying in town with her eldest sister, Lady Gerard, and according to his own account Granville was encouraged to propose to her by Sir Gilbert Gerard and his wife, and even by the Bishop himself, who apparently had taken a great

liking to him, and carried him off to his northern diocese, where the marriage was shortly afterwards celebrated. The Bishop appointed him at once to the first stall in the Cathedral (his installation to which bears date the 18th of September, 1662), and to the Archdeaconry of Durham with the Rectory of Easington attached, to which he was collated the following day.

Granville's birth and connexions would probably have secured him preferment in any diocese he might have entered, independent of any family connexion with the prelate who presided over it. But there is no reason to suppose that he was a man who received preferment simply on the ground of family connexion. Without making any pretence to deep learning he was evidently no contemptible scholar, and had devoted considerable attention to liturgical studies, a point which no doubt had great weight with Cosin in selecting him as one of his two Archdeacons to assist him in the task of reconstruction, which he took so resolutely in hand. The work which the bishops of the Church of England had to accomplish at this time was one of great difficulty. During the Rebellion all that the State could do to crush the life out of the Church was done; her liturgy was prescribed, her loyal clergy dismissed, her grand old edifices defaced, and a wild fanaticism and sour Puritanism prevailed in the place of the sober, rational religion of her services. Nevertheless, if the majority of the nation, clergy and laity, had set themselves shoulder to shoulder to restore order, externally and internally, the work would soon have been accomplished. Unfortunately this was not the case. It has been said, and it is to be feared with great truth, that the Church had to begin her work with a clergy of whom at least three-fourths were alien to her doctrine and discipline. The Act of Uniformity was

no doubt ridding the Church of England of a vast number of those who opposed her doctrine and disliked her discipline, but it was also a direct encouragement to men of loose principles to conform, and a discouragement to men of tender consciences; and those who withdrew themselves, or were turned out of the benefices they occupied on the day of St. Bartholomew, 1662, were for the most part the best and most conscientious of the Puritan party. There was a residuum left for whom we cannot entertain the same respect. Some, without any one fixed principle, except hatred of the Church, had intruded themselves into benefices during the unsettled times of the Commonwealth; others also were in possession of preferments, whose affections and sympathies were with the ejected ministers, but over whose minds conscience exercised less power than the solid advantages of glebe and tithe. With such a clergy it was not likely that Church order would be restored rapidly, even if the laity had been staunch; but the laity, far too commonly copying the example of the Court and its purlieus, were lax and vicious in their lives, and a general looseness of morals defiled the national character.

The Diocese of Durham was no exception to the rule. In Northumberland the only appearance of spiritual life which manifested itself seems to have been shewn in the boldness with which the Roman Catholics ventured upon the public exercise of their religion. "In severall places of that Archdeaconrie masses are openly and publiquely saide, and warning given to the people to come thereto." And where Popery did not prevail, Puritanism had done little. Many of the churches are described as being "altogether unprovided of ministers," whilst their fabrics are represented as being "altogether ruinous and in great

decay." In many "there be neyther bibles, books of common prayer, surplisses, fonts, communion-tables, nor anything that is necessarie for the service of God."

And there is no reason to think that the County Palatine was in a very much better state than the more remote and wilder region of Northumberland. When we read of the inattention to rubics, and the slovenly behaviour of minor-canons and singing men, which Granville complained of as prevailing in the Cathedral itself, and of the sluttish and disorderly habits which, as we learn from Cosin, characterized many of its highest dignitaries, even when attending the service of God within the walls of its choir, we can scarcely suppose that the offices of the Church would be solemnised with much rubrical order in the secluded corners of the diocese, or that there would be much decency either in the conduct or appearance of those who ministered at her altars.

But the Diocese of Durham was especially blessed in the appointment of John Cosin as the bishop, under whom the work of restoration was to be initiated. "He will ever be remembered," writes his biographer with great truth, "among the most eminent prelates of the English Church." At any rate he stands among the very first of the clergy of the Restoration period. With Basire (Archdeacon of Northumberland) and Granville (Archdeacon of Durham) as his coadjutors, men who both taught in words, and exemplified by action, the most entire and implicit obedience to the rubrics and canons of the Church of England, he was more successful during the ten years of his episcopate in restoring order than any other bishop, and there was no diocese where conformity was so general, and where the plain rules of the Church were more vigorously carried out.

Of the manner in which Bishop Cosin succeeded in

restoring order and uniformity in his diocese we have evidence in his "Articles of Inquiry" addressed to the parochial clergy and churchwardens. These are exceedingly minute and curious, and if we compare them with the "Queries" put forth by Granville at his visitations as archdeacon, the similarity of the latter is very striking, and proves how completely in accord the archdeacon carried out the bishop's views and principles.

Apparently, Granville was anxious to exchange his Cornish living for another in the Diocese of Durham, namely Houghton-le-Spring, of which Sancroft, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, was Rector; and Sancroft was anxious to exchange Houghton for Cottenham, and applied to the bishop for permission to do so; and Cosin, writing through Davenport, his domestic chaplain, suggests that Dr. Manby, the Rector of Cottenham, should exchange with Granville. "Kilkhampton being better than Cottenham, for Mr. Grenvile saith it is worth £300, and sometimes £400, and if Dr. Manby would take that instead of Houghton in exchange, and you accept of Cottenham, it would please him so much the better." "I had rather a great deal," adds Davenport, "see Mr. Grenvil at Houghton than Dr. Manby." The following letter from Granville to Sancroft bears upon it:—

ARCHDEACON GRANVILLE TO CANON SANCROFT.

"LONDON, *Jan. 15th*, . . 62.

"SIR,—It would haue revived mee very much after a tedious and troublesome journey out of y^e^ north, to haue enjoyed (according to my hopes) your good conversation here in towne, and it hath troubled mee much to haue been thus deceived in my expectations, but I hope I shall bee more fortunate after my returne from my journey into Cornwall

(which I begin next weeke), and then enjoy that satisfaction which I now desire, hearing that you are designed for one of the Lent Preachers.

"Before I came from Auckland Mr. Davenport told mee of a letter which hee had received from you, and wherein you mentioned that my Lord of London did not greatly like our proposall; but my Brother Bath (who is very desirous I should exchange my Cornish living for a Northerne one) commands mee to signifie to you, that if you seem to like y^e^ thing, hee doubts not to prevaile with my Lord of London yet to approue thereof, or if you haue anything to object against y^e^ liuing and fellowship, hee doubts litle by his intrest in his Majestie, to procure some thing elce for you to your greater satisfaction.

"I humbly craue y^e^ fauour of a line in answer by y^e^ first post, by reason I shall goe hence before y^e^ returne of y^e^ second, wherein you will very much oblige,

"Sir
"Your faithfull friend and vnworthy
"Brother, &c.

"DENIS GRENVILE.

"I lodge at my Lady Gerrard's, in the Pallmall, where let mee once more beseech you for a line by y^e^ 1^st^ post, and sooner because if wee proceed not, Mr. Thriscrosse desires much to exchange his prebend in Yorke for my fellowship in Eton.

[In pencil] "Dean of Durham.

[Addressed:—] "For his worthy and Reverend
"Friend Dr. Sancroftt
"Master of Emanuell Colledge in
"Cambridge.

"post paid."

The arrangement apparently fell through as Granville retained the living of Kilkhampton till May, 1664, when he exchanged with Daniel Bollen, the Rector of Elwick, in his Archdeaconry, a living which he resigned three years afterwards on obtaining the rich living of Sedgefield. The death of Dr. Naylor, who was Rector of Sedgefield, occasioned also a vacancy in the second or Golden Stall in the Cathedral, to which Granville was appointed on the 16th of February, 1668.

The fellowship to which he refers in the above letter to Sancroft, was one at Eton College, to which Sancroft in after years erroneously stated that Granville was appointed in 1662. But this was not the case. The competition for these fellowships was very keen at the period of the Restoration, and continued almost throughout the reign of Charles II. Lord Bath, not satisfied with having procured the Provostship of Eton for his cousin, Nicholas Monk, then Rector of Kilkhampton, applied also to the King for a fellowship for his brother, Dennis. A vacancy had just been filled, but it was arranged that Dennis Granville should have the next. But though the letter was confirmed in his favour, sixteen months later the fellowship which Meredith resigned on his promotion to the Provostship (vacated by Monk on his being raised to the See of Hereford), was granted by the forgetful King to Dr. Heaven, of Windsor. The Granvilles were naturally indignant at such treatment, and the King had to write to the Provost and Fellows explaining that the late appointment had been made in consequence of Laud's decree of 1634, which annexed a fellowship at Eton to the Vicarage of Windsor, and once more bidding them reserve the next for Granville, "whose family had rendered such eminent services to the Royalist cause." But before another fellowship became vacant, in

1669, Granville had carried out the exchange alluded to in the postscript of his letter to Sancroft, and had parted with the reversion of his fellowship to Timothy Thriscrosse for the prebendal stall of Langtoff, in York Cathedral.

We must not judge of Dennis Granville's pluralities and non-residence by the standard of the present day. He was really a very conscientious man, but "*more temporum*," his conscience was quite easy so long as he took care to provide proper substitutes, and he *did* take care to do this. His instructions to his curates at Sedgefield and Easington are most strict in the enforcement of duty. They were to carry out to the very letter all the rubrics of the Church, and he bitterly complains if they do not do so. He required matins and evensong to be said daily throughout the year without the least variation, the hours being fixed at six a.m. and six p.m., as being the most convenient for labourers and men of business. He enjoined that there should always be catechising after the second lesson on Sunday and Holy Day afternoons, with some explanation of the Church Catechism, or exposition of Scripture, or the recitation of the thirty-nine articles or of the canons, in addition to sermons and the homilies. Ember weeks, Passion week, Rogation days, as well as the seasons of Advent and Lent, were to be carefully observed, and he required the Holy Communion to be celebrated at least five times a year, in addition to celebrations on Christmas Day, Easter Day, Ascension Day, and Whit Sunday. Candidates for confirmation were to be carefully prepared, and Easter was to be the time always for their first communion, for which they were to receive special preparation on every Wednesday and Friday in Lent; and that none were to be admitted to Holy Communion till they were sixteen years of age, unless there was extraordinary cause for the same.

The canon about excommunication was to be read, and excommunicates to be denounced accordingly, and the curate on all such occasions was to consider whether he might, by any occasional reflection out of the desk or from the pulpit, improve the same to the people to the deterring of them from the like offences, for which the offenders were pronounced excommunicates. The churchwardens were to meet between the Visitations, and read over with the curates the Archdeacon's Visitation Articles of Inquiry, and the curates were to report all absences from Church on the part of the wardens, and any dereliction of their duties. They were to visit all those who were sick and detained from Church by any infirmity, and assist them in reference to their spiritual state, and be frequent in pastoral visitation of the whole as well, "observing, as far as possible, the venerable Mr. George Herbert's method and rule, to that purpose prescribed in his 'Country Parson,' or 'Character of a Holy Priest,' which book as I recommend to all the Clergy in my Jurisdiction, so do I more especially to my Curates for their rule and direction, in order to the exemplary discharge of their function, haveing alwayes made it mine."

The curate was moreover to consider frequently (at least once a quarter) what rubrics or canons were most neglected by the parishioners, and "read at convenient times the said rubrics to the people in Church, and stir them up, zealousy but mildly, to the better observation of the same"; and if he discovered that these public admonitions were ineffectual, he was then to make it part of his labour in private with personal applications, to reform such irregularities, but "not proceed to present offenders to their shame and expense, unless the thing cannot otherwise be reformed"; that "when there is ground of suspicion that

the churchwardens will not faithfully do their duties in searching the ale houses, etc., the curate is to go out of Church sometimes with them for the more effectual prevention of disorders"; and, lastly, that the curate cause the clerk to enquire, when notice is given of baptism, whether the witnesses have all received the Sacrament, and also to "inform the Parson (if the churchwardens do not) whether any excommunicated persons enter the Church or churchyard, to which end and purpose a list was to be kept in the vestry of all persons excommunicated."

So that though a pluralist and frequently non-resident Granville took care that his parishes should be served efficiently, and all irregularities and disorders against Church discipline suppressed.

The following testimony to the assiduous manner in which he performed his duties as Archdeacon is borne by Mr John Proud, his Registrar:—

"In which station he behaved like an orthodox and steady governor in the Church, for which God and Nature had qualified him with a spirit of government. He visited his Archdeaconry ecclesiatim, wherein I had the honour to act as his unworthy Registrar, and in all populous Towns and Villages, according to the Rubrick of the Common Prayer Book (which he enjoyned all his Clergy to study and observe without addition, diminution, or variation), he sent out his mandates for Daily Prayers and Monthly Sacraments, and in other lesser parishes for such frequent communions as gave all the communicants therein opportunities to receive the same at least four times in the year; and also for so many Communion days within the Octave of Easter that that Feast might always be one. Nay, he calculated in some very great and populous parishes (as Gateshead for the purpose) that it was impossible for all the

Communicants there to have any tolerable conveniency for receiving the Sacrament according to the precepts of the Church without a weekly communion on Sundays and on the other Holy Days besides. He likewise took an exact view of all the repairs of the Churches and Chancels and Parsonage houses, and a true terrier of the Endowments belonging to each Parish and the Hospitals and Charities therein, and where he found any defalcations or misapplications of the Rights of the Church, etc., he wrote to the several Patrons thereof and exhorted them to make restitution, without regard to their quality or power be it what it would. He enjoyned on all his Clergy the catechising of the youth every Sunday and Holy Day afternoon throughout the year; often telling them that he despaired of old habituated sinners, but he thought it was not impossible to train up a new generation in orthodoxy and loyalty, that might atone in some measure for the sins of their forefathers, who had lately overturned both Church and State. He claimed no merit to himself in all these things. I have often heard him say that he had more than ordinary obligations (which too seldom happens to those of his station) because of his quality and interest with his then Majesty, King Charles II., who never denied him anything, and would even sometimes take an admonition kindly from him by way of a little memento sloped into his hand when he was in waiting as his Majesty's Chaplain. I could give some instances of this kind not proper here to be mentioned."

CHAPTER II.

DENNIS GRANVILLE'S usefulness in the diocese must have been much marred by his pecuniary embarrassments, the result of extravagance both before and after marriage. Even in the first year of their married life we have a hint of the state of affairs at Easington Rectory in the following memorandum:—

"August 14, 1663. I made a fresh vow to God that if He would deliver me out of that perplexed condition I was then in, I would endeavour as much as in me lay, for the future, to keep out of debt; never without a just ground borrowing money, or engaging for others."

But in spite of vows and resolutions the debts grew apace.

"For severall yeares after my preferment and marriage I did, in hopes of a fortune from the Bishop, live up to the height of my revenue, insomuch that some sommes of money, which I did owe when I first came into the country, were roll'd into a very considerable debt. My obligacions by reason of my publick station here in the North, and the great hospitality of the county, tempting me to some indiscreet liberality, my debt in a few yeares increased to a much greater bulke, and I, being after some attempts defeated in my expectations (whereon I long depended) that Bishop Cosins would have paid it off, and losing the Bishop's good opinion by the ill-offices of Sir Gilbert Gerard, to whom I do originally ow all my miseries, I was oppressed by my debts and necessitated to communicate my streits and the hard usage I had met withall."

The marriage portion, which Dennis had been led to expect he would have received with his wife, was not forthcoming, for the bishop, when he discovered that he had married his daughter to a spendthrift, tied up the £1,000 he settled upon her in the hands of trustees, so that her husband could not touch it; and not unnaturally the bishop thought that he had made sufficient provision for the young couple by the bestowal of such ample preferments as might well have sufficied for three men. But Dennis was not of that opinion, for he had clearly reckoned on his wife's dowry to paid off his debts. This led to much domestic unhappiness, which was aggravated by the occasional attacks of mental excitement under which he discovered his wife laboured, of the extent of which the bishop and his family were either ignorant or incredulous. Among the Granville Papers in the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian, is the following touching memorandum by Mrs. Granville.

"Dec. 20th, 1663. At my then receiving the sacrament I did (asking pardon for all former faults) vow to God and promise my husband anew that I would for the future endeavour (as much as in me lay) to prove myself a most obedient wife, complying with him in his lawful desires, never willingly doing anything that I know will displease him. A. GRENVILE."

The withholding of his wife's portion led at last to a voluminous and acrimonious correspondence between the bishop and his son-in-law and others, the exasperated feeling being greatly intensified by the strong dislike which Lady Gerard and her husband had conceived against Archdeacon Granville; as his faithful and devoted Registrar, Mr. Proud, thus bears witness:—

"Far be it from me to reflect upon soe great a man as Bishop Cosins, to whom my good master paid so great a difference (deference) in matters of Church government that he made him a patterne to goe by in that particular; but it cannot be denyed but that illustrious champion of the Church of England was misled in his temporalls by the great ascendant his daughter the Lady Gerrard had over him, and by whom her husband (and the Dean's utter enemy) Sir Gilbert Gerrard, wrecked all his spite upon the good Deane."

The painful and embittered correspondence was commenced apparently by the Duke and Duchess of Albemarle, to whom Dennis had stated his unhappy condition, and who at once took up the cudgels on his behalf.

THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE TO THE BISHOP OF DURHAM.

"My Lord,—I was confident y^{t} your invitation of my cozen Grenvile into y^{e} North, and your owne voluntary choice of him for your son in law, with y^{e} large promises Sir Gilbert Gerard made would in every respect answeare his and his relations expectations. But upon my enquiry into his condition, I perceive him still (after soe long a tyme wherein you might have shewne him your kindnesse) involved in many considerable debts, and those augmented since his marriage by y^{e} great charge of his family and furnishing his houses, with severall other necessary outlayings to a man newly come to his preferments and housekeeping, and possibly added to by his charitable and liberall nature. I very much wonder, my Lord, that a person of soe great goodnesse as my Cozen, and soe vniversaly beloved in y^{e} North, as well as where ever else hee hath been, should not deserve y^{e} least favour from you in poynt of fortune,

and y^t^ you thinke it not fit to sweeten y^e^ extreme dissatisfaction that soe affectionate a husband must needs have in y^e^ very sad distemper of his wife, by a taking of one burden, his debts, that hee may y^e^ better carrie y^e^ other. I heartily wish it may not be laid to theire charge whoe ought and did not acquaint him with her misfortune. None of y^e^ Court can believe but y^t^ hee was ignorant of it. I shall not doubt but you will bee soe iust to remedie in some measure your Son's distresse, and take of from y^e^ extremity of his misfortune in his marriage by complying with his desires. My Lord, you haue a faire opportunity to oblige him and his relations, whoe are bound in honour not to desert him in what hee may soe justly expect from you, among whome you'le finde none more zealous for him, or more ready to acknowledge any obligation you shall lay on him, to you or yours then Sir."

[Endorsed:—] "Copie of my Lord Dukes 1st lettre to y^e^ Bishop."

THE DUCHESS OF ALBEMARLE TO THE BISHOP OF DURHAM.

"My Lord.—I am sorry the first occasion I haue to write to you must be of a subject so vnpleeseing to me, and I feare not agreeable to you. It is the concernment of my Cosen Grenvill whoe is reduced to an [un]happy condition by your Lordship's unkindnes to him.

"I haue often heard it said, that one of the greatest scandells to the Church wer the meanes in quality of the greatest part of the Clergy, but when one of his alliance and birth, and one of so pious and temporate inclination came into that sacred function, all his relations had reason to beleeue he would not need incuragement and preferment. And I can not think your Lordship so ignorant to belive the

intrest of his frinds so meane with the King and the Bishops as to make so litle provision for him as your Lordship has done, besides the calamatius society of a distracted wife, which as I am well informed you knew well, before you inuited him into the North, and insnared him with her; and without a portion in mony. I presume your Lordship will not obiect what you haue given in the Church to be a sufficient fortune with her, or at all to respect that for the hyr he had in these parts, added to what he left for your Lordship's fauour whould haue long ere this bin recompens'd with a greater aduancement; for the Genrall whoe had not so many opportunities to doe it has done more for his Chaplain then your Lordship has done for my cosen your son.

"I heare your Lordship has laid by a thousand pound for your daughter which you will not let him haue any share in, which is so triuiall a sume towards the great charge and affliction you haue involu'd him in, that all his friends cannot but resent it. The debts he owed are much increas'd by his condition of life, and it is the least your Lordship can in reason doe to aquitt him of them, that he may haue therein some consolation in his misery. I was so transported with grief when I first heard the relation of this bussines that I thought to haue spoken with the King and my Lord Archbishop to haue mediated with your Lordship, but vpon second thoughts I haue rather chosen to write to you my self this long letter, for the trouble whereof I desire your Lordship's excuse to

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's very affectionate

"Servant."

[Endorsed:—] "My Lady Dutchesses lettre to y^e^ Bishop."

The post-bag at Durham Castle, on the 27th of March, contained no less than four replies from the Bishop on this subject; namely, one to the Duke, two to the Duchess (the second having apparently been written at the instigation of Lady Gerard) and one to Granville himself. The first of these has notes and comments by the Archdeacon.

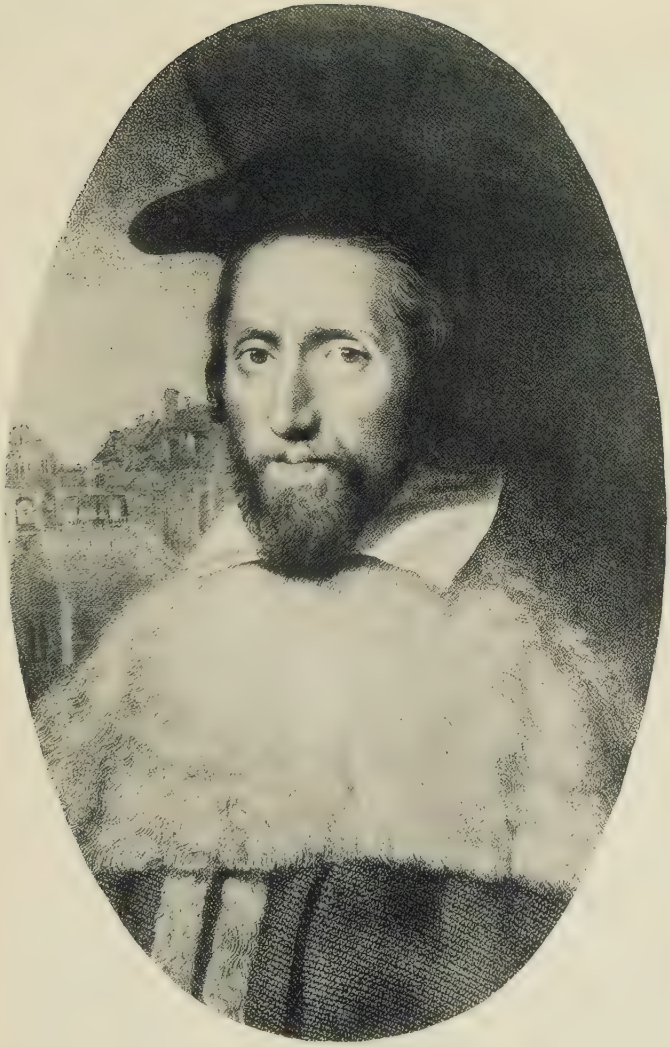
THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

"May it please your Grace.

"My Lord.—I must confesse I am very much astonish'd and greiv'd at the letter which by the suggestions of Mr. Grenvile or his Agents, your Grace hath been pleased to send unto me, for I am not conscious to my selfe of any thing which I have either done or omitted to do whereby I might incur your Grace's displeasure; which through misinformation of other persons that seek their owne ends you are pleased to conceive and express against me, before your Grace had heard me speak for my selfe. My Lord, I sought not Mr. Grenvile, but he sought me,[1] and first came to me with Sir Gilbert Gerard to ask my advice and assistance in the suit that he had for a Fellowship at Eaton, together with some other preferment in the Church, to which hee had addicted himselfe; but my Lord of Canterbury (as afterwards I understood) thought him not fitt for it. I apprehended then that hee was an able Schollar,[2] and that otherwise hee would never have adventured to ask a Fellowship of Eaton. After a while the Archdeaconry of Durham falling void, at the recommendacion of Sir Gilbert Gerard and my Daughter his wife, and for the relacion hee

[1] "All my relations know this to bee otherwise."

[2] "I was soe in his Lordship's opinion before I desired a portion."



JOHN COSIN, D.D., BISHOP OF DURHAM.

had to your Grace, and to my Lord the Earle of Bath, I was the more inclin'd to bestow it upon him. But when hee and his Guide Mr. Davies[1] came to tell me that hee was in debt about five hundred or six hundred pounds, I was so far from inviting him into the North, that I told him plainly hee should never come there by my consent till his debts were paid, which, (as he said then) hee made no question should be done by his Brother the Earle, who owed him divers yeares annuities of fifty pound per annum left him by his Father and fifty pound a yeare more for divers yeares tithes belonging to his Benefice in Cornwall.[2] I never promis'd him to pay any part of his debts, nor never shall, being more unable to do it then hee is himselfe, seing halfe the revenues of my Bishoprick have been taken from me, and having given him such large preferments in the Church (being about eight hundred pound per annum)[3] and the best dignities I had to bestow. I beleive he would not have got the like by all his endeavours elsewhere, for hee knowes that I know what his defects and incapacities are. If hee hath involv'd himselfe in more debts then he owed before, it is his owne great fault, and contrary to the many promises he hath made unto me, and I must humbly pray your Grace to excuse me if I keep my just resolucion (as truly I am, and shall be still, forced) not to look after them. Hee had little reason to say that I made choice of him for my Son in Law, which was brought

[1] "I wish nobody had a worse."

[2] "This could not bee for I had enjoyed y^e^ Benefice but one yeare at that tyme."

[3] "Certainly but sixe hundred, his Lordship commanded me once to represent them as lesse."

on by himselfe and others, till he had procured my consent thereunto, and which I should never have given, but that I conceived him to be a vertuous person, and a learned schollar, in one of which I now find that I was much mistaken. His complaint of the sad distemper of his Wife, and his extreme dissatisfaction therein (as your Grace is pleased to expresse it) is very groundles and far from any ingenuity or truth, for hee hath often told me that he liveth most happily with her, and hath as good a Wife as any man in the world can have, who though shee may have some obstruccion happen about her body for three or foure dayes in the compasse of a year, yet shee is not subject to any distempered passions and diseases as many other women use to be: so that hee need not ask the alleviating of his burthen which he pretends to ly so sadly upon him. It is a great injury which hee hath laid to their charge, of whom hee told your Grace, that they ought, and did not acquaint him with his Wife's small misfortune in her health, as they that did acquaint him with it will make knowne to your Grace, and be able to justify it to all the Court. It seems that this great pretended extremity of his misfortune would soon be at an end and vanish, if he might have money enough to satisfy his desires, which truly my Lord, I cannot afford him, nor shall he ever perswade me to pay one penny of his debts, especially seing he hath done me and my daughter this injury to make such unjust complaints against us.

"I have made a small provision for his Wife, wherewith I dare not trust him who hath been so free and lavish in spending all that hee could any way gett in to his owne custody: and if I should not have done this for her, hee might for ought I know after my death and his owne, have left her to meer beggery and undone her.

"My Lord, in regard of all this that I have here said, I trust your Grace will receive satisfaction, that neither your self nor his other friends will suffer him to trouble me any further in this matter. And so praying for God's continuall Benediction upon your publick, honourable, and most Loyall services for this Kingdome, I take leave, and shall alwaies remaine,

"My very good Lord,

"Your Grace's most faithfull

"and most humble Servant,

"Durham Castle,

"March 27. "Jo: Duresme.

"1666.

[Addressed:—] "For his Grace the Lord Duke

"of Albemarle, my very good

"Lord at the Cock pitt

"Whitehall.

"London."

THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO THE DUCHESS OF ALBEMARLE.

"May it please your Grace.

"Madam,—Your Grace had just occasion to say in the begining of your letter which you were pleased to send me, that it was of a subject as unpleasing to you, as you feared it would be disagreable to me, for the informacion which hath been given to your Grace against mee, that my unkindnes to Mr. Grenvile hath reduced him to an unhappy condicion, is altogether without ground or truth. Truly Madam, I have been abundantly kind to him, and have bestow'd those preferments upon him which elsewhere I

hardly beleive he could ever, by all his endeavours have procured for himselfe. And I have been told Madam, by a credible person of whom your Grace not long since inquired what I had given to Mr. Grenvile in Church preferments, and to that inquiry answer being made that hee accounted it about eight hundred pound a yeare, your Grace was so transported with it, that you were pleased to say, you doubted it was farr above what hee could expect (wherein there was more truth then at that time your Grace was aware of) and that you prayed God it might not spoile him, and make him too proud, or runn into evill courses hereafter by wasting so large a revenue, though now in this your letter your Grace is pleased to say, that being of such birth and quallity as hee is, you are much offended with the little provision that I have made for him, adding that I cannot be so ignorant as to beleive the interest of his friends with the King and the Bishops is so meane as not to make better provision for him, wherein I pray God speed him well, but I feare when all his defects are knowne hee will not finde either the King or the Bishopps forward to add much to his preferments in the Church, which are so great already (being the best dignities which I had to bestow) that I doubt hee will not change with any of my Lord Dukes Chaplaines, though they should give him double their preferments to boot, and yet Madam, I beseech you not to conceive that I gave him these preferments for any portion with my Daughter, for whom, as I told him I would otherwise provide, and have since that time by God's blessing, provided as great a summe of money for her as I was able to do (though your Grace pleasantly calls it a triviall summe) towards her maintenance and subsistance in case shee should outlive her Husband, who hath no land of his owne to leave her, and is so great a waster that if hee had this

money in his owne power hee would spend it and leave her to beggery when hee and I are dead. But above all other things Madam, I am most astonished at the charge you are pleased to make, and the burthen that you lay upon me and my Daughter, concerning whom your Grace saith, that shee is distracted, and that he hath a calamitous society with her, which, as your Grace is informed, I knew well before I invited him into the North, and insnared him with her. All which are but meer injuries and reproaches cast upon her and mee, and I pray God that Mr. Grenvile (if hee be your Grace's informer) or his Agents for him who have made these strange suggestions to your Grace, be not more distemper'd and distracted then shee is. My Daughter the Lady Gerard can sufficiently satisfie your Grace, and answer the unjust objection of insnaring him to marry her Sister, whose condition shee truly represented unto him before hand, and his answer was that he should not much regard so small a distemper, and so seldome happening to her, whereas many other wives usually have far more troublesome distempers and diseases upon them. And yet your Grace is pleased to say againe that I have involv'd him into so great a charge and affliction, as that all his friends cannot but resent it, unless I will acquit him of his debts that he may have some consolacion in this his pretended misery. Truely Madam, he is so far from liveing in misery, that hee is in as happy a conditon of life, and hath the society of as good a Wife as any Gentleman of quallity in this County besides, and therefore they that have inform'd you to the contrary have abused your Grace, and done me a great deale of injury. There are other Gentlemen here Knight's sons, and nearely relating by birth to the Nobility, who have nothing so great preferrments and revenues as Mr. Grenvile hath among us, nor am I able

to give or hee capable to receive any more in these parts. In the meane while I can pay none of his debts, which by his ungratefull course that hee hath taken he thinkes to force me to doe, nor shall I ever be perswaded thereunto.

"And with all this I hope your Grace will be so well satisfyed, that you will seriously chide him for his attempt, and free mee from further trouble of his unjust importunity and causeless complaints made against me, who am,

"Madam,
"Your Grace's
"most faithfull
"and humble Servant,

"Durham Castle,
"March 27
"1666.

"Jo: Duresme."

[Addressed:—] "For her Grace the Lady Anne
"Duchess of Albemarle, at the Cock Pitt
"Whitehall. London."

THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO THE DUCHESS OF ALBEMARLE.

"May it please your Grace.

"Madam,—I make this second addresse to your Grace by my Daughter Sir Gilbert Gerard's Wife, who can give you the best account of her Sister's small and inconsiderable infirmity (for she lived many yeares with her before she was married) and therewith acquainted Mr. Grenvile, who then made no matter of it, though now there is such a malignant informacion made to the contrary, as if he had been insnared, for this is the terme of your Grace's letter, wherein you are pleased to say you were well informed. But Madam, there was no need either of inviting or insnaring your Grace's kinsman to marry my Daughter, who had

better matches offered her; and one (among the rest) a Gentleman of good account and so good a fortune that his Father will leave him above six Thousand poundes, and for the present proferred to give him 2 hundred pound a yeare, whereunto if the preferments which Mr. Grenvile now hath, had been added, my Daughter might have been far better provided for then now shee is. Besides, this Gentleman was in no debt at all as Mr. Grenvile was, to whom I inclined for the relation hee had to my Lord Duke and the Earle of Bath, who he assured me would undertake to pay his debts, though I think he might by this time with good husbandry have paid them himselfe. For before hee entred into his Archdeaconry hee had there three hundred and thirty pound ready to be paid into his hands, and now at his coming vp towards London, he had (as I am well informed) foure hundred pound for the renewing of a lease, whereof he might have made better proffitt if he had been patient to stay a little while longer for it. But however this foure hundred pound and the other three hundred and thirty pound would have been sufficient to pay his debts, which hee now seekes so fircely to be paid by me, who am neither able, nor ever shalbe willing to do it. But I shall allwaees remaine his friend, and

" Madam,

" Your Grace's

" most humble Servant,

" Durham Castle,
" March 27
" 1666.

" Jo: Duresme."

[Addressed:—] " For her Grace the Lady Anne
" Duchess of Albemarle, at
" the Cock Pitt Whitehall.
" London."

FROM THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO ARCHDEACON GRANVILLE.

"DURHAM CASTLE,

"*March* 27, 1666.

"MR. GRENVILE,—I see now what your chiefe aime and intention was to take your journey towards Oxford: where, though you pretended a Doctor's degree, and the visiting your friends, who, you said had invited you thither for that purpose, you had little or nothing else to do but to abuse and misinforme many things against me, and against the present condition of your wife, as now by yourselfe and your agents you have done at London, in the odious complaints made to the Duke and Duchess of Albemarle of me and mine. I did not think you would have been thus injurious to me or to any of my relations, especially to your sister the Lady Gerard, who (whatever you say to the contrary) will be able to justify both herselfe and me against all the shamefull quarrells that you have with us; and I doubt not but my Lord the Duke and Duchess of Albemarle will be satisfyed when they bee better informed of the truth then you and your agents have been pleased to make known unto them. When you pretend your wife's distraction, you knowe you speake against your own conscience and against your own words, so often repeated to me, and saying that she continued to be very well ever since I came last into this country, and that you lived as good a life with her as you could with any wife in the world. You must pardon me if I say, as I have often said to you, that I will pay none of your debts, being not able to do it, and truly in a worse condition than you are or may be by the grace of God if you please. I have lost halfe my Bishoprick, and you have augmented your fortune neare upon £800 a yeare since you

made suit for the Fellowship of Eaton, from which my lord of Canterbury (you know why) witheld you, and if you know not why, Mr. Davis can tell you, as hee told me from my lord of Canterbury's owne mouth.

"You have made a bargain for the lease of your Archdeaconry Corps, and got a great deale of money by it, as I am informed, though you would not acquaint me with it. You have made up of my relations here to borrow some hundred pounds from them, which is grievous to me to heare, and as I wonder what you do in lavishing away so much money, and for aught I know paying no debts, or but very little of them, so I cannot but wonder also what you meant, to take this advantage and to make use of those men who related to me, without ever acquainting me about it. Thus you have abused me as your father-in-law (for which I do not see how you can possibly make me any amends) and as your Bishop you have not used me well, when you would needs go away from heare before you had satisfied mee who should be left behind you to look to your cures and churches. You wrote mee a letter and sent it by Mr. Davis, assuring me that he should stay at Easington, but presently hee took post after you, and since that time your churches have been serv'd by shifts, and by Curates deserting their own churches to serve yours; your course at the Cathedral here this last Sunday, being our Lady day, was supplied by the provision and care of

"Your very loving father,

"Superscription "Jo: Duresme."

"For Mr. Dennis Grenvile,

"At his lodgings in London.

"Deliver this at my lo. the Earle of Bath's,

"lodgings at St. James',

"with Mrs. Thornhill."

FROM THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO MRS. GRANVILLE.

"DURHAM CASTLE,

"*March* 28, 1666.

"MY GOOD DAUGHTER,—I have sent this bearer in my stead to visit you, as you sent yesterday your servant to see how I did, which I took very kindly from you, and I would have come now myselfe to see you at Easington, but that I have such an infirmity which has fallen upon me and oppressing me with so much pain that I cannot sit in a coach to travel so far. In the meanwhile I pray you take great care to keep yourselfe well, as thanks be to God you have been now better a long time together, although Mr. Grenvile, being now at London, hath made grievous complaints there to the Duke and Duchess of Albemarle of his very calamitous conditions of life with you, saying that you are a distracted wife, and that he was insnared by me and your sister, Sir Gilbert's wife, to marry you, which you know to be a very unjust and false suggestion: and sure I am that I know, if he had been pleased to let you alone, you should not have wanted a gentleman of very good quality and fortune to be your husband. I have answered my Lord Duke and the Duchess' letters, which he procured to be sent unto me, by the last post and wherein those expressions are made, which I mentioned before, of your distraction, and the afflicted and sad calamitous life that he leads with you.

"You cannot but think, good daughter, that it very much afflicts me to heare that Mr. Grenvile hath done myselfe and you this great injury. And therefore I pray take occasion to write to him and intreate him to abstain from telling such grose untruthes as that he was insnared to marry

a distracted wife, or that he lives such a sad and afflicted life with her as hee, or his agents about him, do pretend, for which his unjust sayings I know not however hee will be able to make me or you or my other relations any possible amends.

"And so praying God, as I do continually, to bless and keep you well, I rest, deare daughter,

"Your very affectionate father,

"JO. DURESME."

The next letter is unsigned, but it is written from Easington and probably by Granville's curate there, Mr. Davies; it gives an account of the above letter written by Bishop Cosin to his daughter, and of the Bishop's anger at Granville's unfortunate expression, in one of his letters to his wife, which she had forwarded to her father, that he would "squeeze" the money out of him. This naturally gave the Bishop great offence; it rankled in his breast, and he quoted it again and again to all to whom he spoke about his son-in-law.

MR. DAVIES (?) TO ARCHDEACON GRANVILLE.

"HONOURED SIR,—My expecting of your promised long letter made me not forward in returning an answere ere now, but I missing of my expectations can noe longer forbear returning you my hearty thankes for your kindnesse expressed therein—I am glad to heare of y^e^ abatement of your cold, but sorry to see soe litle hopes of your speedy coming to Easington . . , your receauing of Madam Grenvile's last doth acquaint you with my Lord's ciuilities towards you; but his great respect he hath for you will be a litle more apparent by your reading this ensueing relation . . . yours to her bearing date y^e^ 24 instant she sent to

my Lord by Bettye Wren, wherein you had unfortunately used this expression, that you would squeeze y^t^ mony from him which in justice he ought to giue you; which tearme he soe plays upon, that in truth he giues y^e^ relation of it almost to every one that he imparts his mind unto, as though it were y^e^ most unciuill, rude and base expression could possibly be used, and this night he sent another letter to Mrs. Grenuile, wherein he first thankes her for her kind and discreet letter to him, and also for sending yours inclosed, and saith that by comparing them both together you seame y^e^ more distracted of the two; and that he is resolued you shall neuer gett any mony of him; and whereas you speak of living from him, and coming noe more into y^e^ country if you preuaile not, he saith he cannot see how with modesty you shall euer look him in y^e^ face again, y^t^ hath soe basely abused him to y^e^ Duke and Dutchesse of Albemarle, and for your intending to send for your Lady, he saith y^t^ is nothing but a plot on purpose to disorder her by a long and hurrying journey, and that she can expect nothing from you or your relations, but abuses and unhansome dealings, and therefore lays a strict charge upon her not to thinke of hearkening to any such thing.

"This y^e^ summ of my Lord's letter, though hauing but once y^e^ perusall of it, I am but imperfect in the relation, and comes far short of perfection acquainting you with y^e^ busenesse of it, I must needs say, I doe not wonder att it, hauing since your departure been a litle familiariz'd with his ill qualities; and I hope you know them too well, either to wonder att or be troubled for them. We haue cause to thinke his Lordship will be here some time this weeke, tis a uisite we much desire not, but how euer I will attend his coming, and endeavour by my deportment to him to shew my selfe not att all discouraged by his threatnings, to doe

you all y^e^ seruice I can: neither his wordes or deeds shall make me say or doe any thing that I know contradictory to your desires, or forbear saying what in my judgment I thinke conuenient in your concernes. He writes Mrs. Grenuile word that my Lady Gerard is coming downe, and intends to giue her her company, and afford her all y^e^ ayde and assistance she can. I wish she may doe it att a distance, but shall thinke her noe welcome guest in your absence. Tis trouble enough to hear of her basenesse, we desire not the seeing of it . . . My Lord doth forsee what method you intend to follow in y^e^ carrying on of your designes; he expects a letter from my Lord of Bath, and afterwards one from his Majestye, and hath already resolued upon his answere. He saith his Majestye cannot enjoyn him by his commands, and he shall neuer prevaile by his intreaties. Dear Sir, I am infinitely sorry that your busenesse hath yet noe more hopes attending it, and am afraid by that means to be rob'd of that felicitye I should otherwise partake of, in hauing your sweet societye, but yet I must needs say I will be content to want it for a season, rather then haue it upon a dishonourable retreat.

"But least I should soe much tyre you by reading, that I might not hear from you by your writing, I will break of this present trouble, and only begg your prayers for me, and giue you a fresh assurance that I am and euer shall be

"Dear Sir,

"Your most faithfull Friend and Servant."

[Addressed:—] "These

"For the Reverend Mr. Denis Grenuile att

"Madam Thornhill's lodging in St. James's

"with care and speed."

The Bishop on receiving his daughter's enclosure, at

once wrote off to Granville the following indignant letter of reproach and censure, of which the unfortunate expression "squeeze money" is the key-note!

THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO ARCHDEACON GRANVILLE.

"DURHAM CASTLE, *March* 31, 1666.

"MR. GRENVILE,—Truly I am very much ashamed both of your doings and your sayings against me and your good Wife, who hath lately written me a very sober and discreet letter, shewing herselfe so far from any distraction or other distemper, that I wonder you make no more conscience of accusing her, and thereby exposing her to the hard censure of your owne friends. You have often told me what a tender conscience you had, and therefore I marvell that you study no better the cases and practice of conscience. For between a tender conscience and a hard heart relying upon pretences that are most untrue, there is a great deale of difference; nor will you ever gaine any thing from me by these ill natur'd and injurious proceedings against me. For you say you will squeeze me, inviting your wife to joyne with you in it, that is, to alienate her duty and affection from her owne Father, who hath taken so great a care of her, and shewed so much affection to her, that hee suffered her for your sake by her importunity to squeeze from him y^e^ first, and one of the best Prebends in this Church to be bestowed upon you, when I intended it for another person, who was a very eminent Schollar, and wholly addicted to y^e^ service of God, the King, and the Church. You tell of ensnaring you, but I pray who was ensnared when you came to Sir Gilbert Gerard, and my daughter his Wife, saying that you were in Election for a

Fellowship of Eaton, craving my advice how to compasse your desires, and get you into one of those places, which used not to be bestowed but upon the choicest men for learning in either of the Universities, and truly the conceit that I had then of your good worth and learning, being, (as you said then) brought up in it, and made a Master in Arts, before you were so much as a Novitiate in them, as since that time I have sufficiently knowne, (to my just and great regret) might the more easily ensnare me, to give you that preferment which I did, the rather for y^e^ neare relation which you had to my Lord the Duke, and to the Earl of Bath. And for y^e^ great undertakings and protestations which you made, that your debts should be paid out of y^e^ annuities and tithes witheld from you before you would venture to come into y^e^ North, as at London I prayed you not otherwise to do. And because you and your Agents, have so often, and so freely cast the word distraction (without just cause upon your wife, I can tell you a story in your eare, (if you will tell it to nobody else) of a great Prelate in this Kingdome, who was (in his ralliery) merrily pleased to say, that the Bishop of Durham might be thought the madder person of the two, to marry his Daughter [to] such a pitifull ——— as in learning you were, which you may now think doth trouble my conscience more then you had ever any cause given you to trouble yours. But your intencion to Squeeze me (which I had from other hands then your Wife's) will not [depart] out of my mind, nor do I know how you will ever be able to make me amends for these abuses, which you have put upon

"Sir

"Your loving Father in Law

"and your Bishop.

"Jo: Duresme."

This was succeeded shortly afterwards by the following lengthly document, written in a very formal hand and signed by the Bishop.

"For Mr. Dennis Grenvile.

"ANIMADVERSIONS
"upon his Declaration, or Declamation,
"exhibited to the Duke and Duchess of Albemarle,
"against his Father in Law and Pastour,
"the Bishop of Durham.

"Hee distributeth his paper into eleven heads, all which hee calls so many *Severe Objections made against him.*

"I. Animadversions upon his Answer to what he calls the 1. Objection.

"*If my Lord of Durham be hard of beleife I cannot help it, it is none of my fault.* The Bishop of Durham said that he had bestowed upon Mr. Grenvile such good and large preferments in the County of Durham, as he could hardly beleive would have been elsewhere procured for him by all his owne endeavours. The reason why the Bishop could not be so easy of beleife in this matter, was Mr. Grenvile's missing the Fellowship of Eaton, which hee could not procure to be bestowed upon him, he knowes well why, and therefore needed not to have said, *that it was none of his fault* or that *he durst be bold to say there is no one but the Bishop that is hard of beleife in this particular*, for his owne bosome friend Mr. Davies had often told the Bishop and others, hee could never beleive that Mr. Grenvile by all his endeavours could ever get that preferment for which he so long laboured.

"*I answer that I shall alwaies continue (as I have often professed) abundantly thankfull for any kindnes his Lordship hath bestowed upon me.* There is a great deale of difference otherwhiles between saying and doing, which is Mr. Grenvile's present case, who, notwithstanding his pretence of being *abundantly thankfull*, hath made the Bishop a very ill retribucion (in words and deeds) for his kindnes to him.

"*But by the way I desire it may be remembred there are killing kindnesses (according to a proverb) and I would God my Lord's had not prov'd such.* A pretty kind of *thankfulnes* contradicted in adjects, for he that sayes the Bishop did him a killing kindnes, is so far from being thankfull for it, that with these opprobrious words he doth highly reproach his benefactor. Had others received those preferments from the Bishop, they would rather have taken up another proverb and said, *Kill me with such kindnesses as often as you will.*

"II. Vpon his Answer to what hee calls the 2[d] Objection *That I am no schollar.* The Bishop never said so. *That his Lordship knowes what my defects and incapacities are* &c. The Bishop onely said, Mr. Grenvile knowes that hee knew his defects, from publishing whereof he was so far, that he hath many times excus'd and lessen'd them to many others who knew his defects aswell as the Bishop did: and therefore all this long process of confession, of appeale, of judge and of reproach in this particular might well have been spared.

"*I am not so grosly ignorant as his Lordship's letters proclame me.* Mr. Grenvile sayes these words in his owne wrong, and to his owne discredit, there being no such words in the Bishop's letters: and whose fault is

it if the Bishop's private letters be proclam'd? *Contrary to the character that he once gave of me to my brother and the King.* The Bishop never gave any character of Mr. Grenvile's schollarship to my Lord his brother, nor did he ever speak of him at all to the King.

"*And then I'le demand: who was most to blame?* Truly the Bishop thinkes that both himselfe and Mr. Grenvile were much to blame, the Bishop in beleiving at first more then he found after, and Mr. Grenvile for concealing his defects from him till he came to read and take the oath for his Prebend; by which he knowes there hangs a story, for Mr. Grenvile's sake not to be proclamed. *I'le demand againe whether his Lordship does well now thus to exclame against me.* Mr. Grenvile should do well to demand of himselfe with what truth and conscience hee can write these words; for the Bishop did not exclame against him, but onely answered for himselfe (as before) when Mr. Grenvile had exclamed against the Bishop, and caused it to be written that the Bishop had insnared him and not given him what he deserved.

"*I'le demand againe, whether my Lord did not forgett the advice of the Apostle in laying hands too suddenly upon me.* Here Mr. Grenvile forgets himselfe, for the Bishop laid no hands upon him, but found him ordained a Priest at his first coming to him; and therefore is not to be blamed for his ordination.

"*If I have neglected my studies it is the Bishop's owne fault.* By that token that the Bishop hath frequenty urg'd him to take pains and get learning fit for one in his office and employment in the Church. But that *the Bishop plunged him in any difficulties, or*

diverted him from seeking after learning, to seek after money (which out of his yearly revenues he largely received) is a very great abuse put upon the Bishop. *I had been alwaies a good schollar in the Bishop's opinion, if I had been satisfied without money.* This is but Mr. Grenvile's owne vaine opinion of himselfe, and the Bishop knowes no money that he owed him, or was, or is due to him.

"III. Vpon his Answer to what he calls the 3^{d} Objection. *My Lord gave not the preferment as a portion with his daughter.* This confession is true. *But I know of no other portion that he hath given.* This is not true, for he hath otherwise provided for her by feoffees in trust, because her husband took no care thereof. *Which was not according to the encouragements given to your Grace, and my brother as well as myselfe.* The Bishop never gave any such encouragement as that Mr. Grenvile should have the portion, or provision that should be made for his wife.

"*Many Clergy men have had portions without joyntures.* And more have had none, specially those that had no jointures to give *whose relations have not been capacited* (he should have said capacitated) *to make any joynture, as mine have kindly proffered to do for me.* By that token that Mr. Grenvile many months after he was married (having never ask'd any portion before, but said he expected none) came to the Bishop, and ask'd 1500*li* for a portion, and proffer'd in the name of his relations to make the Bishop's daughter a joynture of 100*li* per annum, to come to her after her husband's death (who may by the grace of God live to a good old age) during her life onely, and this out of some lands 300

miles distant from her present place of dwelling, but the Bishop's answer then was, that as he had no money to give any such portion, so he might have had as good a bargaine at the Exchange for 300*li* and lesse, as his friends told both him and Mr. Grenvile, when he confess'd that he knew not whether hee should have that 100*li* per annum during his owne life, or not.

"*If ever Clergy man deserv'd a portion without a jointure, I certainly do, having such a sad affliction concealed in my deare wife.* This is neither modestly, nor truly said; and his owne wife is able and will make the untruth of these words appear against him.

"IV. Vpon his Answer to what hee calls the 4th Objection. *The dignities bestowed upon me are the best the Bishop hath to give.* It is here confest in good time, *that the Bishop hath done his part in this particular. My most bosome friends know, and can testify that I have thought them rather too much.* And why then doth not Mr. Grenvile pay his debts with the overplus, and then none can blame the Bishop for not giving more.

"*But notwithstanding all this, I see no reason why my Lord should magnify what he hath done in point of preferment, extolling it to the sky.* Here Mr. Grenvile's words flew too high, for the Bishop knowes of no such magnifying and extolling his gift. *As if there was never any such thing done in this world for any man, nor no man so kind and good natur'd as my Lord of Durham is.* Which words savour too much of petulancie, ingratitude, and contempt.

"*My Lord hath forgotten that courtesies upbraided are annihilated.* The Bishop upbraided none, and

beleives that Mr. Grenvile will not annihilate or part with them, unles in exchange for better; in the meane while to say the *Bishop hath forgotten himselfe*, Mr. Grenvile may take back those words and apply them to his owne person.

"*Which might give me and my relations too just occasion to say, that we are no longer his Lordship's debters.* The Bishop never said that Mr. Grenvile's relations were his debtors, though chiefly in relation and regard to them he bestow'd the Archdeaconry upon him: But for Mr. Grenvile himselfe, if hee will not be in debt to the Bishop for his kindnes towards him, the Bishop wisheth that he were in debt to no body else, who for their kindnes in lending him money, and telling him that they so did out of good will and kindnes to him, will not be content to be paid with such an answer, as that *courtesies so upbraided are annihilated*, and therefore that Mr. Grenvile is no longer their debtor. Let him try if he can answer them so, and acquit himself from them by annihilating their courtesies to him, onely because they say, that they were kind and courteous to him.

"V. Vpon his Answer to what hee calls the 5th Objection. *I need say nothing in answer to this, which my Lord calls the small and inconsiderable Infirmity that hath sometimes heretofore happened to his daughter for a few dayes of the yeare, Res ipsa loquitur* &c. And in the name of God let y^e^ thing speak it selfe, Mr. Grenvile if hee sayes truely cannot say otherwise, as his wife is able to testify by her long continued health in his house in this countrey; his threatnings to prove or publish any thing to the contrary, agree

nothing with the professions that he makes of so much kindnes to his Wife, nor doth the *reputacion of the Bishop* (which he thinkes will be thereby impayred, unles he will pay Mr. Grenvile's debts, and stop his mouth, which hath been too much opened already) depend upon the tongue or plume of the Archdeacon.

"VI. Vpon his Answer to what he calls the 6th Objection. *That his Daughter The Lady Gerard (as his Lordship's expression is).* And what other expression should the Bishop have made? who surely may aswell call his daughter *the Lady Gerard*, as call his son in law *Mr. Archdeacon Grenvile*, without the offence of him or any person besides: and if the Bishop had called her his daughter Gerard onely, it might have been supposed he meant another of his daughters of that name. *That shee truly represented to me before hand the infirmity that had sometimes happened to her sister.* And this will be made good, both by her and his wife; and another sister besides, who can testify that Mr. Grenvile himselfe acknowledged as much before he was married.

"*After my appeale to the great God, I will refer my selfe to the whole world, especially those that well know my Lady Gerard and me, whether this assertion must needs be Gospell because her Ladyship hath said it.* All these words are nothing but y^e^ overflowings of Mr. Grenvile's pen. His sister Gerard (as she must now be called for fear of giving distast) is knowne to be a person of truth and credit, and will as little endure to be made a lyar (which is his owne terme) as Mr. Grenvile himselfe.

"*All will beleive that I speak truth (I make no*

doubt) except my Lord and her Ladyship). In this particular Mr. Grenvile will not be beleived, for there are many that do beleive otherwise, and doubt that Mr. Grenvile hath herein much failed in his owne beleife and in his memory. *But whether his Lordship should give credence rather to his son in law then to his daughter, let any sober man judge: nay whether my Lady Gerard herselfe, might not justly suspect her memory to be treacherous, rather then a Divine's.* This is a contestacion between two memories, and the Bishop doubts (having divers reasons for it) that the treacherous memory will fall to Mr. Grenvile's share.

"*Shee hath no other ground of quarrell against me, then that I claime and challenge the supplies of such moneys, which in all probability her Ladyship would faine convey into her owne coffers.* The Bishop knowes not of any quarrell his daughter hath against Mr. Grenvile, to whom shee hath been alwaies very kind, unless he will call this a quarrell and an unkindnes, that shee asserts a truth so well knowne to her, and defends her Sister and herselfe against his reproaches.

"*It is my Ladie's part therefore to prove the affirmative, which if she can do by any person alive that is to be credited; I will submit and rest satisfied.* Be it so then; and let that make an end of this matter— But in the interim let not Mr. Grenvile make such a noyse about it as he hath lately done, procuring it to be written to the Bishop. *None of all the Court beleive it to be otherwise, then he hath* (unduely) *related it.*

"*I can mind his Lordship if there be an occasion, that he hath said, and put it under his hand, that if his daughter were in any distemper I was the occasion of it.*

And truly the Bishop might well say so, when Mr. Grenvile gossip'd up and downe with his wife, and hurryed her from place to place where she was entertained with varieties of meat and drink (perhaps in too much abundance) that might easily bring a distemper upon her, as it usually doth upon other women.

"*I must owne that my Lady Gerard did sometimes beat about the bush, saying that her sister was sickly, and subject to fevers, which, I then confessed to my Lady I had heard also from a gentleman of worth living at Newcastle.* This is here noised and pretended to have been told him long before his marriage, but what those fevers were the Bishop knowes not, and thinks that neither his daughter, nor Mr. Grenvile, nor the gentleman of whom he speakes, could know any thing of them, his wife having never been subject to any fevers in all her life.

"*My Lord himselfe in the long gallery at Aukland Castle did insinuate to me and my worthy friend and assistant Mr. Davies, that his daughter was sometimes subject to melancholy, being of a tender nature, and therefore that care was to be had of observing the Physitians' rules and keeping a strict dyett, but that it was nothing and would be soon over.* This the Bishop might well say, and what father could have said lesse, then that such care should be taken of his daughter. But what is this to the noise that Mr. Grenvile together with his assistant Mr. Davies and others, have most unjustly made of distraction, whose pretended distemper was by severall of the Bishop's family never noted to be greater then at the same time when she was woo'd by Mr. Grenvile, and gave her consent to marry him.

I must mind my Lady Gerard that she is my Lord of Durham's daughter, and then surely it is not impossible that her Ladyship may be partiall &c. On the other side, shee may mind Mr. Grenvile that he is Mr. Grenvile, and like enough to be partiall to himselfe.

"VII. Vpon his Answer to what hee calls y^e^ 7 Objection. *What injury his Lordship conceives that I have done him and his daughter I cannot tell.* Mr. Grenvile hath little reason to say he cannot tell, when he hath been so often told of it since he went up to London last, and there upon a designe to get money, slanderously accused them; and therefore he should rather have said, that hee cannot tell how to deny it, or that he knew it well enough, and must confesse himselfe to be conscious and guilty of it. *I am sure his daughter herselfe is of another opinion, as her owne letters testify.* She professeth her selfe to be of no other opinion, and denyeth that her owne letters will testify the contrary, for which purpose shee hath hereunto annexed a paper under her owne hand. *That any meanes hath been used to alter her mind, and withdraw her affection from her husband,* is a very great untruth and can never be proved. *I dare any person alive to come forth and manifest to my face any thing that I am accused of.* This hath been done already, and will be done againe at any time, as often as Mr. Grenvile shall deny it.

"VIII. Vpon his Answer to that which hee calls the 8^th^ Objection. *I shall wave speaking any thing concerning my pretended misery. Hee had caused it to be written, that he led a sad and calamitous life with his wife.* He now confesseth that he hath a good wife,

but that he is a miserable husband, reflecting as it should seem upon his debts, whereinto neither his wife, nor her father ever brought him; and therefore are not to be charged or burthened with them.

"IX. Vpon his Answer to that which hee calls the 9th Objection. *It is said I am so lavish in spending, as that my Lord feares if I had the money he hath put out for his daughter, I should spend it all, and leave my wife a beggar.* The Bishop is of the same mind, and in the same feare still. *Here I will confesse some guilt, I cannot say that I have been an excellent husband in this sence heretofore.* Confession of a fault is good, if due care and resolucion be taken to amend it. *The Prodigall Child that consumed his substance, was met by his father upon his bare saying in his heart that he would returne.* Here Mr. Grenvile's memory, or understanding of the parable, failed him: for the Prodigall Child did not onely say in his heart he would returne to his father, but actually did returne, and ask'd both God and his father forgivenes before his father received him, and killed the fatted calf for him. The Bishop hath not yet seen or heard of his son's returne, who threatneth to keep further from him, as it appeares in one of his letters, which is no way answerable to ye returne and penitence of the Prodigall Son. There is a great deale of difference between Mr. Grenvile's expressions, and that of the parable; for the Prodigall said, *Father I have sinned against Heaven and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son, make me as one of thy hired servants.* But Mr. Grenvile's expression is, that he would *squeeze his father*, that his *father was more to*

be blamed then himselfe, that his *courtesies were annihilated*, and that *he might have too just occasion to say he is none of his father's debtor;* and besides (as he said a little here before) *dares any person alive to come forth and manifest to his face any thing that hee is accused of;* and lastly, the Prodigall Son did not tell his father, that he *was cruell and harsh to him*, as Mr. Grenvile hath told his father who hath been so kind and gentle to him. *Why then should not my Lord after this example once make a tryall of his son, which if his Lordship would once do, and bring forth the best robe, and put it on me, and put a ring on my hand, and shoes on my feet, withall killing the fatted calfe, I would with no lesse mirth then is mencioned in the parable promise him that I would never peticion for his favour, if I ever more plunged my selfe into the like miserable condition.* The answer hereunto is very easy, that hee cannot follow this example of the father, because Mr. Grenvile hath not followed the example of the son, in returning home, and confessing his faults, and misbehaviour towards him.

"X. Vpon his Answer to that which he calls the 10th Objection. *Because my Lord now saith he hath provided as great a summe as he is able for his daughter's maintenance, in case she should outlive her husband. I dare not deny it; but otherwise if any one else had asked me after it, I could have answered him nothing.* And yet Mr. Grenvile knoweth well, that the Bishop told both his daughter and him of it above 2 years since, who then most thankfully acknowledged it, and said they were both much bound to him for that care and provision so made for her, which he

intended nevertheless to augment assoon as he could. *I am assured we have neither of us any present profit of that money.* No more hath their father any profit by it, who hath disposed it wholly for the benefit of Mrs. Grenvile, in case shee should outlive her husband, as many other good fathers have done in the like case, without any murmer or objection of the husband against it.

"X. Vpon his Answer to that which he calls the 11th Objection. *My Lord saith that at my first coming to the Archdeaconry I received 300li., and since that time a fine of 400li., sufficient to pay my debts, but the first 300li. by the dishonesty and carelesnesse of a Curate, proved to be little more then 100li.* Yet the Curate hath lately[1] given it under his hand, and offers his oath for the truth of it, that he paid Mr. Grenvile by the Bishop's reserve and appointment, 330*li.* out of which he abated nothing but 40*li.* for his owne stipend, and some small charges that were not above 5*li.* All which was in the Bishop's sole dispose, before he conferr'd the Archdeaconry upon Mr. Grenvile.

"*As to the 400li. fine, I may say my Lord had a bad informer.* The informer was one of Mr. Grenvile's owne friends here called *a bad informer*, because peradventure he did not know whether the summe of the fine was 400*li.*, or 500*li*, or 600*li.*, but the Bishop knowes that Mr. Grenvile and Mr. Davies above 3 yeares since, resolved to keep up the fine at 600*li.*, and to abate nothing of it; promising then to reserve it towards some provision to be made for his wife.

[1] The copy whereof is hereunto annexed

"*Had not his Lordship denyed me many common kindnesses, which a stranger would scarce have done, I had never been necessitated to the courses I have taken.* This is a great injury put upon the Bishop, to say that he denyed Mr. Grenvile many common kindnesses which he might have had of a stranger. What these *common kindnesses* are, that were denyed him by the Bishop, Mr. Grenvile doth not say; nor will he be ever able to prove any one word of what he saith here, for the Bishop hath (besides his collation of the best Prebend) done him many other kindnesses, and yet never upbraided him with them.

"*My Lady Gerard in saying my Lord permitted me to take these two summes of money, hath manifestly overshot herself, not wounded me.* Yet if she said so, she had some reason to say it, and did not so manifestly overshoot her selfe as Mr. Grenvile saith here she did, for y^e^ first 300*li.* was in the Bishop's dispose, and the other 4 or 5 or 600*li.* what ever the fine is, was by Mr. Grenvile's promise (to the Bishop) engaged to be laid out for his wife and children that God might send him by her.

"ANIMADVERSIONS
"upon his Conclusion.

"To Mr. Grenvile's conclusion and gloss upon his former answers this may justly serve for a reply and the satisfaction of any honourable person.

"1. That if the preferments bestowed on him brought any incumbrances with them, it is no more then usually they do every where else, being well able to discharge themselves.

"2. That the Archdeaconry brought with it no other incumbrance then the first fruits to the King, which Mr. Grenvile knew well beforehand were to be paid by law, not arising to above 100*li.*, for the payment whereof hee had two yeares allowed him.

"3. That the Prebend cost him nothing either in first fruits or tenths, and yet hath been so beneficiall to him, that he hath received from y^e^ profits of it above 300*li.* a year.

"4. That the residence whereof he speakes, though it cost him twice asmuch as it needed to have done, if he would have taken the good advice that was given him about it, yet it hath not hitherto cost him any thing at all, for the Bishop's son in law Mr. Davison lent him then 100*li.* to defray that and other charges; of which 100*li.* as Mr. Davison informeth the Bishop, there is not yet one penny repaid.

"5. That the first fruits of Elwick Parsonage are under 20*li.*, for the payment whereof two years were also allowed.

"6. That the furniture of his house is not valued by them that have seen it at above 200*li.*, towards which he had 30*li.* from his wife of y^e^ Bishop's owne money.

"7. That his Chancell wanted not much to be repaired when hee came thither, and that he hath as yet bestowed but little cost upon it.

"All which set together will come far short of seven hundred and twenty poundes.

"But what ever it comes to, the preferments have been well able to beare it, and very much to spare towards the payments of his debts.

"8. That if hee keeps 15 or 16 persons in his family, they are more by the one halfe then needs, unless they be such whose service may quit y^e^ cost.

"9. That his preferments (together with Elwick Parsonage) in common estimacion of the countrey, are worth

between eight and nine hundred poundes a yeare, which Mr. Grenvile hath quietly enjoyed more then 3 yeares and an halfe towards all charges, accounting that he had his Living in the West, till he exchanged it for Elwick.

" 10. That the annuity of fifty pound a yeare, which he said his father left him, may be added hereunto as part of his revenue, besides the arreares of that annuity, and of his tiths in the West, which he hath often affirmed to be still due unto him.

" 11. That he engaged himself never to come into the North till he had taken order by his owne friends at London to pay his debts; about which onely all this scandalous debate hath been raised by him.

" 12. That after hee had the Archdeaconry and Prebend, he engaged that the whole proffits of both Archdeaconry and Prebend should be laid aside for providing maintenance for his wife and children if he had any, and that in the mean while he would live upon the profits of his Living in the West, he then saying his debts should be paid by another hand; and afterwards he made meanes and motions to the Bishop that he might be free from this engagement, so far as to receive the profitts either of Archdeaconry or Prebend for his present better maintenance, and for the speedier payment of his debts, because the interest was burthensome, and because that speedy course was not taken which hee sayd had been promised him for the payment thereof: adding moreover, that he intended afterwards to lay aside so much money as he should receive out of that one preferment, for the benefit of his wife and children, so that in effect he would onely borrow that money till his friends paid him what they promised.

" And finally, for his expectacion of living in the Bishop's

house (which was never mencioned by him to the Bishop before now) he had it allowed him till he went into the West, and then left his wife with her father at Aukland till he went to y^e^ Parliament, and then hee left her with her sisters, till her husband should returne. Besides how unreasonable as well as unlawfull would it have been for a man having a Living, an Archdeaconry and a Prebend, to have resided upon none of them. And therefore the Bishop doth hereby now require and injoyne him virtute Juramenti Deo, Ecclesiæ, & Episcopo prastiti, to returne to the care of his severall Churches in this county. All which is represented to him by his Father and Pastour.

"Jo: Duresme."

To this document a note by Granville is subjoined that he will not reply to these animadversions, but engages to prove all the material things that he has affirmed, and to submit and rest satisfied if there can be brought against him sufficient proof of the things objected.

CHAPTER III.

Once more the Duke of Albemarle writes to the Bishop on Granville's behalf.

THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE TO THE BISHOP OF DURHAM.

"My Lord,—My cosen Grenvile hath given a satisfactory answer to those severe objections made against him, and therefore I must still expect your Lordship to gratifye him in his reasonable demandes. Hoping that vpon your 2d thoughts you will comply with his desires, I rest,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's humble Servant,

"Cockpitt,
"Aprill 17th, "Albemarle.
"1666.

[Endorsed:—] "Copie of my Lord Duke's
"2d letter to ye Bishop."

Dennis's sister, Mrs. Thornhill, who was a Lady of the Bedchamber to the Queen, and with whom Dennis was staying in London, is the next to fall under the lash of the Bishop's pen for interfering in the quarrel, and his letter is accompanied by a declaration, signed by the Bishop's receiver, that the Bishop is so far unable to pay other men's debts that he cannot pay his own.

THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO MRS. THORNHILL.

"DURHAM CASTLE, *Aprill* y^e^ 17^th^ 1666.

"MADAM,—Your sister my daughter who is now with me hath shewed me a passage in your letter which you were pleased lately to send to her, taxing me with cruelty to her husband, and truly shee is no lesse astonish'd at it, then I my selfe am: for I beseech you (Madam) wherein doth this my cruelty lye, who hath done so many great kindnesses for him? Was it a cruelty to give him an Archdeaconry, the best preferment that I had to bestow, and worth five hundred pound a yeare? And after this, was it a cruelty at his earnest request to bestow my daughter upon him, a gentle and discreet person, who hath prov'd a very loving and dutifull wife to him, without being troubled with any such maladies whereunto many other wives are subject? Or, was it my cruelty at her earnest request and importunity to bestow the first and one of the best Prebends of Durham upon him? Or lastly (to omitt many other kindnesses that I have done him) was it my cruelty to lett him make use of divers of my friends here to supply him with money, which hee said hee wanted, when his owne relations would supply him with none at all? Therefore I pray you (Madam) give me leave to ask you, for which of all these good deeds do you take up such words as stones to cast against me, who have never deserv'd either this, or any other severe censure to be laid by you upon,

"Madam,

"Your very humble Servant,

"JO: DURESME.

"Madam, if your meaning be that I have shewed cruelty to your brother because I do not pay his debts, which he

undertook should be paid out of y^e^ annuities due to him which were given him by his father, (but for which undertaking hee had never come into this countrey) or because I do not give him what is provided for his Wife, if shee liues after him, truly Madam, it is not in my power to do either the one or the other, and herein I pray you and him and all his friends to be satisfied."

DECLARATION ENCLOSED.

"To all whom it may concerne and spetially to Mr. Dennis Grenuile Archdeacon of Durham, and to his honoured sister Mrs. Joane Thornhill.

"My Lord the Bishop of Durham is so fairr unable to pay other mens debts, that to my knowledge he is not yett able to pay his owne, haueing of late beene put to borrow fiue hundred pounds for the aduancement of the King's Royall Aid, and wanting money at present wherewith to defray the weekly charges of his familly and his seruants wages, towards all which charges, and the payment of the Queene Mother nine hundred pounds per annum, besides fiue hundred pounds yearly to the King, and three hundred pounds per annum to this County Pallatin Officers, he hath not receuied more then 125li: for fines for renewing of leases since Christmas 1664, nor do I yet see or know when he will receiue any more.

"All whiche I know to be true, because all my Lord's receipts and expences goe through my hands. In wittness whereof I haue hereunto subscribed my name this 28^th^ day of Aprill, 1666.

"Durham Castle. "EDW: ARDEN."

[Addressed:—] "For Madam Thornhill,
"at her lodgings in
"St. James's,
"London."

The next letter is from Lord Bath to the Bishop, with the Bishop's reply, who says Granville will not prevail in squeezing anything from him by making immodest proposals.

THE EARL OF BATH TO THE BISHOP OF DURHAM.

"LONDON, *Aprill*, 1666.

"MY LORD,—I did hope that my advice to my Brother (about two yeares since) of retiring into the North, and not farther capitulating at that time with your Lordshipp would have had some other effect than I now see it hath had, and that you would have saved mee the labour and your selfe the trouble (by your free and voluntary kindnesse to him) of vsing any farther arguments of mine owne to induce you. But since you have not thought fitt soe to nor to support him in his difficulties, no not so much as to gratiffe him in those small and inconsiderable requests which were made in his behalfe at his departure out of the North (which is greatly wondred at) I cannot deny him my countenance and assistance in reasoning the case my selfe with your Lordshipp, which I am still unwilling to doe, did not mine owne honour aswell as his necessities compell mee. My Lord to be plaine, [T] and all his relations are greatly deceived in our expectations, for wee could not possibly but imagine that those large hopes of kindnesse, which your Lordshipp, aswell as others gave, would (at least) have better'd his condition, which all things duly considered tis manifest they have not. I doe not meane (my Lord) but that the preferments which you have bestowed on him are good and large and sufficient, but I will affirme that a single man might have liv'd more happily on that living which I bestowed on him, (being once

well setled) than hee now can (having such a family and soe many incumbrances) with all that hee hath. Besides the King had some perticular kindnesse for him, as your Lordshipp well knowes, and many Bishopps might have beene apt enough (you may imagine) to have shew'd him such favour as your Lordshipp did, nay it lay in mine owne power to have soe farr added to what hee had, as to have made it six or seaven hundred pound a yeare, whereas his complyance with your Lordshipp's advice in changing his condition (which hath brought much prejudice upon him both from the King and some great Prelates) hath incapacitated him (in a great measure) for all this. For first, the King dislikes his marrying, and having lesse kindnesse for the marryed Clergy than other, is not like to doe that for him, which perchance hee once intended. 2^{dly} being marryed hee must submitt unto his present condition whatsoever it be, and be contented to loose those advantages in a match, which doubtlesse I could have gotten for a Brother of mine, if hee had discovered his intentions that way, free from many sad allayes which hee hath mett withall, which (my Lord) cannot be concealed, though by some stoutly denied. 3^{dly} distance of place will deprive him of much assistance I could give him, namely of a living of 400*li:* per annum in my owne dispose, if it should fall (and not unlikely that it may) and another of the same vallue in these parts lately offer'd him by a worthy friend. All which conveniencies (and others which I could reckon) being lost by his being swaied by your advice in point of marriage and fixing (upon your proposalls) in the North, it cannot be thought strange that his friends should expect your Lordshipp some way or other to recompence all this, which can never be done by the bare bestowing preferments on him, be they never soe good without taking off

the incumbrances they bring along with them, and the expences usually incident to a young housekeeper, it being considered that he was then behind hand with the world as hee did ingeniously declare unto you before hee accepted of any proposall of marriage, and which your Lordshipp acknowledged (though sorry to heare thereof) was candidly done.

" My Lord give mee leave to minde you of some expressions that your Lordshipp used to him, and afterwards confirmed to mee, which were these ; when you first invited him into the North, hee replying that hee was not at his owne dispose, not daring to resolve on any thing without his Brother's advice, who hee said hee looked on as a Father, aswell as a Brother, your Lordshipp was pleased to say to him (and you did say to mee something to the same purpose afterwards) that hee should aske his Brother whether hee would give upp his interest in him to you, and that you would be a Father to him, and take him into your tuition, not doubting but that you would give a good account of his settlement ; which surely my Lord, besides many other kinde expressions might justly encourage all his friends to hope for greater matters than your Lordshipp hath done, ballanced with the ill consequences of his altering his condition. Had your Lordshipp bestowed lesse preferment on him living a single life, it must have beene acknowledged a greater favour than all at present, and been more gratefully owned by all his relations, but his advantages being not accompanyed with the distractions and expences of a marryed life (a thing I never much approv'd nor hee thought of till hee mett with your Lordship) aswell as other unhappinesses best knowne to your selfe, it cannot be unreasonable for us to expect that your Lordshipp should consider him some what in point of for-

tune aswell as preferment, which it is well knowne could otherwise have beene procured for him, (though he mett with some discouragement and opposition at first) and perchance sooner than he desired, for I never discerned him too forward and greedy thereof. The Fellowship of Eaton which hee was put upon by some friends, hee did indeed earnestly endeavour after, but I dare say, as I have often heard him professe that it was more for the solitude and retirement of that life than the preferment of the same that hee sought it. The world cannot surely thinke him soe inconsiderable a younger Brother (though some seeme to imagine him soe) as that hee cannot with modesty (because hee hath received preferrment) expect a portion. Truly my Lord, I should have beene very unwilling (had I, or hee been soe suspitious as to capitulate with a Reverend Prelate) to have given my consent that my Brother should have marryed any Churchman's Daughter in England that had not thought him worthy of any portion, and more unwilling, if (as in this case) hee was to receive preferrments, it being like to be injurious to his reputacion, as I am affraid my Brother's proceedings have beene, and will still be, till your Lordshipp act your part, in order to his vindication. I shall not trouble your Lordshipp any farther at present, but to lett you know, that upon these consideracions (which me thinks) should yet prevaile with your Lordshipp, I must be soe just and kinde to my Brother, as to joyne with my Lord Duke of Albemarle in his requests in this behalfe, who all his freinds discerne soe perplexed with his difficulties and loaden with his burthen, that unlesse some speedy expedient be found to ease him from his trouble, it may prove of very ill consequence. Pray my Lord take those things into consideracion which I cannot but hope may (upon second thoughts) seem reasonable to

you. If they should not, I must crave leave to wonder at it, and say I thinke there are few of your Lordshipp's minde, and fewer that would (all things considered) be soe backward to helpe a person in his case espetially when they might thereby oblidge soe many, and in a particular manner.

"My Lord,

"Your Lordshipp's humble Servant.

"My Lord,—You may remember that there have beene hansome proposalls made in my Brother's behafe by his relations concerning a joynture (more than could have been reasonably expected) and therefore they that have termed them unkinde have not done well. 'Twas not his friends or his owne fault that his debts were not paid (as 'twas hoped they should have beene) before he went into the North, but the difficulty of procuring money without Citty security. Ready money I could not have spared him, but if hee could have procured moneys upon my security, I offer'd to ingage, and have still greater kindnesses in store for my Brother, but as I doe remember after hee attempted to procure moneys and could gett none, yet your Lordshipp incouraged him and his friends (I saw the letter) to come downe into the North, taking the best course hee could for the paying of his debts, that they might not (if possible) be troublesome to you. And if it hath not beene possible for my Brother to doe otherwise than hee hath done, I hope you will not be displeased with him for that which hath not layne in his power to prevent.

[Addressed:—] "To the Right Reverend

"Father in God, the Lord

"Bishop of Durham. att

"Durham Castle."

"these."

THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO THE EARL OF BATH.

"My Lord,—I received your Lordship's letter yesterday, and according to your command returne this speedy answer. I thank your Lordship for your readines to befriend me or any of my relations: and upon this occasion I take the boldnes to recommend the condition of your Brother to your consideration, earnestly desiring you to be a meanes for the helping him out of those perplexities in which he was involved before ever I saw his face, which hee hath by word and writing often told me your Lordship was pleased to promise him. In the mean while I shall desire your Lordship to satisfy your selfe and all his friends, that I have not at any time refused to comply with him in any modest request that he hath hitherto made unto me, (though your Lordship in this your letter seem to say that I have done otherwise) and I hope he doth not think to prevaile upon me by squeezing any thing from me, (as in one of his letters he said he intended to do) or by making any immodest proposalls, which, not being able to grant him, I must be forced to deny. I earnestly desire he may, with as much speed as may be, returne hither, as to the place of his service and duty which he owes here to God and the Church: and on all occasions I shall approve my selfe such as becomes his Father and Bishop, and

"My Lord

"Your Lordship's most humble Servant

"Durham Castle,

"May y^e^ 5^th^ 1666. "Jo: Duresme."

But Dennis evidently thought the North was too hot a place for him to return to at present. In addition to the Bishop's ire there were probably impatient creditors to be

avoided. He, therefore, obtained the following Royal dispensation to remain away from his cures for two years:—

"CHARLES R.

"Trusty and wellbeloued Wee greet you well. Whereas it hath been humbly represented unto Vs y^t^ Our wellbeloued Seruant Dennis Greenvile Master of Arts now Archdeacon and Prebendary of Durham, and Rector of Ellwick, hath severall affaires of very much importance and concernement to himselfe that necessarily require for some time his attendance in this Our Citty and elsewhere, soe as he cannot without prejudice to himselfe reside in y^e^ North to discharge in person y^e^ seuerall offices and duties incumbent on him, (which hee is uery desirous to doe), hauing as Wee are well informed been hitherto very exemplary in his dilligence and asseduity therein, hereupon humbly crauing Our Royall Dispensation for his absence from his severall charges till hee had finished his businesse and settled his affaires. Wee taking y^e^ said request into Our princely consideration, and being otherwise well satisfied of his honest intentions in this suit, and of y^e^ urgency of his concernes y^t^ presse him to take it, haue thought fitt (notwithstanding any statutes or injunctions to y^e^ contrary) to dispence with his residence in those partes during his occations, hee taking care for y^e^ sufficient supplies of his seuerall places, and haue accordingly thought fit hereby to signify Our Pleasure to you, y^t^ you permit him to take all and singular y^e^ profits, aduantages and emoluments arising or growing due to him from any of his said preferments in as full and ample manner to all intents and purposes as if hee were actually resident, y^e^ same to continue for and during y^e^ time hee hath already and hence forward shall

continue absent, not exceeding two yeares. Herein wee expect your complyance. And &c. Given &c. June 27 66.

"By his Majesties Command

"ARLINGTON."

The Dutch fleet, under De Ruyter, appeared off the North Foreland in May, and the Duke of Albemarle is about to set sail to attack them, yet, even in this moment of national excitement, he finds time once more to write to the Bishop on his cousin's behalf.

THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE TO THE BISHOP OF DURHAM.

"MY LORD,— I haue received your Lordship's of y^e^ 17^th^, and hope howeuer you will not thinke itt vnreasonable if I as my last request before my departure desire you to put an end to y^e^ difficulties of your son Greenvill. I am not soe indifferent in his concerne, but have recomended his affaire to my Lord Arlington, whoe will give mee an account of what your Lordship does therein.

"Begging your good prayers, being with in an houre or more of going to sea, I rest

"Your Lordship's.

[Endorsed:—] "Copie of my L^d^ D^s^
"last lettre to y^e^ Bishop."

By referring the matter to Lord Arlington, who was at this time Secretary of State, the quarrel passes out of the inner circle of relations, and assumes a more public and important affair. Lord Arlington waited a few weeks to see if it could not be otherwise arranged, without his interference, but in July, finding the Bishop still obdurate, writes to him as follows:—

LORD ARLINGTON TO THE BISHOP OF DURHAM.

"WHITEHALL, *July* 19, 1666.

"MY LORD,—My Lord Generall at his going hence to sea did very earnestly recommend to mee the doing all good offices to his kinsman Mr Greenvile, your Lordshipp's son-in-law, in the manner he should further declare to mee, and the said Mr Grenville having explained himselfe that hee is yet expecting the fruits of your Lordshipp's promise to him, a portion with your daughter, I could not omit the recommending to your Lordshipp the giving that fair satisfaction therein which you thinke shall bee due to him, and thereby preventing his further complaints which will expose both your Lordshipp and him, if they should happen to make a noise in the world. I leave it to your Lordshipp's prudence to doe herein what you shall think fit, offering myselfe to doe all good offices betwixt you, towards both satisfactions.

"I am your Lordshipps etc.

"ARLINGTON."

"The Bp. of Durham."

But the Bishop still held his ground, and refers Lord Arlington to Sir Gilbert Gerard for a fuller explanation of the grounds of the quarrel, accounting what he had done for Granville, and complaining strongly of the licence granted to him for non-residence.

THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO LORD ARLINGTON.

"MY LORD,—Vpon Tuesday last I received your Lordship's letter concerning Mr. Grenvile, who six months since deserted the care of his severall Churches and preferments

here renitente Episcopo, against whom he haith all that while been an importunate solicitor, and a very loud complainer; vpon pretence that he cannot yet get so much money from him as he desires, wherewith to pay his debts, which hee threatneth to squeeze from mee whether I will or no; or at least to make mee part with that portion which I haue provided for my Daughter his Wife, and put into feofees hands for the maintenance of herselfe and hir children, in case shee should outliue hir Husband, who was not able to assure hir any thing him selfe for that purpose, and with whom for many reasons I durst not trust it. At his breakeing away from hence, contrary to the advice that I, and many of his friends here gaue him, he made not any demaund of this nature; but pretended only that his freinds and relations aboue had sent for him to Oxford, where the King then was, by whose Royall letters and Dispensation he hoped to get his degree of Doctor in Divinity, which if he might obteine would be worth his journey, promiseing in the mean while to returne within a month or six weekes att most. From this designe of getting that degree vpon him by such meanes (I confesse) I disswaded him, knowing well that his Majesty had by speciall letters (procured by my Lord of Canterbury, and my Lord Chancellor) forbidden the Governors and Heads of the Vniversity to conferre such degrees vpon any man who was not of sufficient standing, and had not first approved himselfe by keepeing publique Acts and Dispensations for that purpose; which I thought Mr. Grenvile would not vndertake in his owne person to doe; and because I added that he knew why, it seemes he grew so much displeased att it, that he resolved to make his journey serve him to another end, that is, (though he then concealed it) by venting his complaints and clamours euery where against mee and my Daughter,

Sir Gilbert Gerard's Wife (besides many abuses put vpon his owne Wife) to force money from mee, both to pay his debts, which he contracted long before he had any relation to me, and to spend and wast att his pleasure, as he hath hitherto done, the revenues I gaue him since he came into this Country.

"My Lord, I haue provided for my Daughter his Wife as much as I was able to spare, and I haue provided for him a fayre revenue of about 800li a yeare (which I did cheifly out of y^e^ respect I had to my Lord Duke of Albemarle and y^e^ Earle of Bathe) in Church Dignities and Preferments, the best I had to giue, which was more (as he hath written himselfe vnder his owne hand) then he could desire. In regard whereof I beseech your Lordship to advise and require him to desist from these his exorbitant proceedings, and makeing such a noyse about them as he hath allready done euer since his being att London, and still threatneth to doe to my great disreputacion, as he is pleased to imagine, and so to terme it. But my kindnesse hath been so great to him, and my actions so cleare with him, that I shall neither feare his noyse, nor any disreputacion that he can by all his vnjust complaints and clamours cast vpon mee.

"For your Lordship's better information in this matter, I shall humbly pray you to call Sir Gilbert Gerard to you, who together with his Wife, haue had a great part in it, and therein haue been Mr. Grenviles speciall freinds from y^e^ beginning. The Declaration that Mr. Grenvile made in writeing to my Lord Duke and my Lady the Dutchesse of Albemarle I haue also answered in writeing to y^e^ full by severall animadversions made vpon that his Declaration. I presume those animadversions will giue your Lordship, or any other honourable person a full satisfaction that Mr.

Grenvile hath no reason to complaine against mee, but rather to shew himselfe more grateful! for the severall kindnesses that I haue shewed him, and would haue still continued to him if he had not by his many vnworthy words thrown out and written against mee and my Daughter Sir Gilbert Gerard's Lady, made himselfe vncapable thereof. And therefore I beseech your Lordship to call for y^e^ animadversions from him, and to make him sensible of his owne errors, which will be y^e^ best and readiest way to make an end of this matter with him.

" Truly, My Lord, I am somewhat troubled att y^e^ dispensatory letters which he hath procured from his Majesty for two yeares absence from his Cures, for I know not with what good conscience he could petition to haue any such Dispensacion graunted him, vpon pretence of his vrgent affayres att London ; where (as he himselfe hath diuers times written) he hath nothing to doe but to complaine against mee, and try if he can wrest from mee the money provided for his Wife, which is no way due to him, and more then which, (if he should spend it away, as he is most likely to doe) I am not able for the present to giue her, though I intend her a share with my other Daughters of what I shall leave at my death. And I perswade my selfe that had y^e^ matter been thus truly represented to his Majesty there would no such Dispensation haue been graunted him, nor can I in all my records find any president of y^e^ like kind, that any person being called by his Bishop to residence according to his duty and his oath, should in plain contradiction to that oath and duty endeavour to procure any Dispensacion to y^e^ contrary. But I haue learned my owne duty to obey and submit to y^e^ King's pleasure till his Majesty shall be pleased to revoke and alter it. As y^e^ case stands now, y^e^ Bishop cannot get Mr. Grenviles severall

places to be duely supplied, nor keep vp that jurisdiction and power which it is most requisite he should haue over all the Clergy in his Diocese.

"And this I humbly leave to your Lordship's consideration, being confident of your Lordship's justice and favour, which I shall allways owne, as I haue euer done with all due regard and true affection to your Lordship; remaining

"My Lord,
"Your Lordship's
"most faithfull and most humble
"servant,

"Auckland Castle,
"vlt[imo] Juy 1666.

"Jo: Duresme."

[Endorsed:—] "Aukland Castle.
"Bishop of Duresme, July 31.
"Prays your Lordship (as an expedient to reconcile
"Mr. Grenvile to reason) to call Sir Gilbert Gerard
"to you, and to peruse his Lordships animadversions
"in Mr. Grenvile's hands: y^t^ he hath giuen him
"800li. a yeare in Spirituall Preferments, yet can-
"not oblige him: y^t^ y^e^ Dispensation he hath got for
"his 2 yeares absence, is not only a great greife to
"his Lordship, a great neglect of his Cures, which
"cannot now be otherwise supplied, but against his
"Oath and Duty to his Diocesan.'

After his return from the fleet the Duke of Albemarle, finding the position still unaltered, writes the following curt, angry letter, which, however, was perhaps never sent, but the longer one, somewhat less violent in tone, substituted in its place.

THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE TO THE BISHOP OF DURHAM.

"My Lord,—I received litle satisfaction from your lettres concerning my cosen Grenvile before my departure, but have received lesse from your larger paper I have mett withall since my returne. In my absense this affair of my kinsman hath been communicated to y^e^ king, who heartily resents his condicion, and hath promised him his favour and vtmost assistance. You must excuse mee, my Lord, if I cannot beleive all that my cosen hath been accused of, but resolv'd to bee a zealous sollicitour in his behalfe, not doubting but that his Majestie's arguments will prevaile better than those of

"My Lord,"
"Your

"My Lord, let mee add, that if you will doe nothing more for my cosen than you have allready done, you may take your preferments (and your daughter too if you please) and wee will doe better for him, provided you put him in as good condicion as hee was before."

"My Lord,—I received but litle satisfaccion in my cosen Grenviles concerne, from y^e^ lettres you writt before my departure, and have received lesse from your large paper I have mett withall since my returne. My Lord you must excuse his friends if they know him to well to believe him guilty of all that hee hath been accused of. Vndoubtedly your Lordship hath given too great ear to some malitious people that beare him noe good will, other wise you could not possibly have believed itt your selfe. I finde all persons besides your Lordship, and some few of your relations, to give a kind charecter of him, and think him

worthy of your favour. I am sorry that you, or any other relating to you, should bee soe singular in this perticular. I could wish for your owne sakes as well as mine and his, that it had been otherwise. Your kindnesse to him would have been noe injury to your selfe, as I am afraid your severity is like to bee to your own reputacion. His relations have offer'd (and doe still) in his behalfe more than can bee reasonably desired in order to his and your daughter's being settled, which your Lordship seems to have forgotten by your manner of expressing itt.

"You must give vs leaue then greatly to wonder that you should bee soe averse to ones good (whom wee know you made a voluntary choice of to bee your son in law, and on whose wellfare your daughter's happinesse doth now depend), as to denye that reasonable concurrence which surely in y^e^ like case (all things considered) few men ever did. Those offers which have been made in your Lordship's name (whither your Lordship's or noe, I cannot tell since your owne pen takes no notice of y^e^ same) concerning the intrest of a 1000li. or 1500li. to be paid to your son and daughter (though more than would first bee granted) is far from being expedient to his present necessities y^e^ thing desired, and vnlesse some such bee speedily found as his condition requires, your daughter as well as son is like to bee very miserable, which will bee as litle to your own honour as their satisfaction. Proposalls of a jointure pro[por]tionable to any summe laid downe according to y^e^ judgement of a lawyer (though contemned) will bee revived by my Lord of Bathe if your Lordship will doe your partt, and methinkes there should need noe arguments to prevaile with you to soe reasonable a thing. Though I could tell you that my kinsman's case hath been made knowne to y^e^ King, whoe greatly pitties his condition,

and hath promised him his best assistance, insomuch that if his Majestie hath any arguments to prevaile with your Lordship (and 'tis strange that hee should not haue some sufficient for soe inconsiderable a thing) my cosen is like to haue them. And if I am resolued to bee y^e^ King's monitour and a zealous sollicitour in y^e^ behalfe of my kinsman, your Lordship must excuse mee mine owne honour (having thus far appeared and receiued a deniall) being now concerned to goe through with what I have begun, and am still convinced notwithstanding what hath been said fitt to bee done. For my Lord, I must still owne my selfe of y^e^ opinion (in which some wise men concurre with mee) that y^e^ paper I said you inclosed, namely my cosen's vindication from those objections made against him, was a reasonable and satisfactory answer, and then I could wish you had spared those expressions in your paper you call Animadversions—vizt. that his answers were opprobrious words; and that they savoured of petulancy, ingratitude and contempt. When it comes to farther examinacion, it will bee found otherwise, and some things in your Lordship's paper which you will not I suppose willingly owne, bee very strong if you should."

At last, after enlisting in vain the good offices of his brother and the Duke of Albemarle and Lord Arlington, Dennis Granville determines to appeal to the King himself. Such an appeal in a matter so purely private and personal as a quarrel with a father in law over a wife's marriage portion is certainly not a little curious as an indication of the manners of the time, and of the patriarchal authority with which the devotion of the subject then invested the person of the Sovereign.

ARCHDEACON GRANVILLE'S PETITION TO KING CHARLES II.

"To the King's most Excellent Majestie

"The humble peticion of Denis Grenvile Sheweth

"That your Petitioner is fallen into such an unhappy condicion by relating to my lord Bishop of Durham that nothing but your Majestie's gracious countenance and favour can possibly preventt his ruine. Your Peticioner therefore humblie beseechs your Majestie to afford him some opportunitie brieflie to declare his present unhappinesse unto you.

"And your Peticioner shall ever pray, etc.

Nor was the appeal made in vain. Having drawn up a written statement of his "straights and the hard usage" he had met with, he delivered it into the King's hand in the Queen's bedchamber "the very day before the sad fire of London, and whereto his Majesty (out of his wonderfull gracious goodnesse, notwithstanding the lamentable confusion every body was in during that combustion) did give so much regard as to command my Lord Chanceleour Clarindon to write to y^e^ Bishop of Durham" on his behalfe.

ROYAL LETTER TO BISHOP COSIN.

"Right Trusty and Welbeloved. We greet you well.

"Whereas Wee are informed that our welbeloved servant Denis Grenvile hath yet received no portion with your daughter, though others very largely, at which Wee cannot but justly wonder, espetially since the Generall (a person so well-deserving from the whole Kingdome, and that hath

been so greatly instrumentall in Our happy Restauration) hath zealously appeared in his behalfe, and still resents the usage his kinsman hath mett withall. And that notwithstanding the Preferments bestowed on him (though very good) have (as usually) brought divers and great incumbrances along with them which hath increased that debt hee was unhappily involved in by the sufferings of his Familly before he related to yours, you have yet contributed no assistance to alleviate his burthen and present trouble, chiefly occasioned by your invitation of him into the North, which hath prov'd very unfortunate unto him in severall respects, and, by the disingenuity of some employ'd in the proposall of the match, may be a cause of much further misery to him as well as posterity, if God send him any.

"Wee therefore taking his perplex'd condition into Our consideration, which Wee greatly pity, and for whom Wee are so much concern'd, that, to signifie Our grace and favour unto him Wee are contented to write in this perticular and extraordinary manner, being fully satisfied that hee deserves that good report which is generally given of him, notwithstanding all that hath been said to the contrary to some of our publick Ministers of State (which might haue been forborne to have been said of a servant of Ours, whom Wee thought worthy of our Royall Dispensation) cannot but recommend him in most effectuall manner unto you, as a person not only well deserving in himselfe, but relating to a Family whose favour you would not doe well to contemne, that have don and suffered so much for Our Royall Father as well as Ourselfe, assuring you that in bestowing a fortune on him suitable to his present unhappinesse, and helping him out of his distractions occasioned by his debts (which may now prove very injurious to your

daughter as well as himselfe) you will not only doe yourselfe a great kindnesse, but a most gratefull and acceptable thing to Us, and divers considerable persons who heartily solicits on his behalfe, and will not rest satisfied till you have complied with his desires, which appeare very modest and reasonable not only to Ourselfe, but must needs do the like (his quallity and condition considered) to all indifferent and unbyassed persons that truly understand his case. Wee shall say no more at present, but mind you that it is for the Churche's honour as well as your owne, that you speedily put to this affaire (without any more adoe) such a period as may give satisfaction to himselfe and relations. Expecting your complyance herein and an account of the same (which for your owne sake as well as his Wee shall be very sorry you should faile of) Wee bid you farewell.

"Giuen at Our Court at Whitehall the . . . day of . . . in the 18th yeare of our Reigne."

What answer the Bishop made to this sharp peremptory Royal Letter is not known. Certain it is, however, that the wife's portion still remained in the hands of the trustees, and even the King's command failed to move the old Bishop. Granville lays the fault on Lord Clarendon, who, he says, did not perform his part in the affair. Lord Clarendon was not very friendly to the Granvilles at this time, as Dennis's uncle, Sir Richard Granville, had brought an accusation of treachery against him, twelve years before, when he was Sir Edward Hyde, at Breda, which he had not been able to substantiate, and which Lord Clarendon had never forgotten nor forgiven. But though the Bishop stuck to his point, and refused to pay down his daughter's por-

tion, he appointed Granville the following year, 1667, to the rich living of Sedgefield, and also to the Golden Stall in Durham Cathedral.

What the poor wife's feelings were during this bitter quarrel it is not difficult to surmise. Sometimes she is evidently under her father's influence, at others under her husband's. During the earlier period of the contest she remained in the North, and there was made to sign the following Declaration as to her ailment:—

MRS. GRANVILLE'S DECLARATION.

"DURHAM CASTLE,

"*April* 28th, 1666.

"1. I do truly hereby declare that (God be praised) I neither am nor ever was in such a sad distemper or distraction as hath of late bin slanderously imputed to me by some persons who haue acted under my deare husband Mr Grenevile, and made undue complaint thereof to his friends.

"2. The smal distemper that sometimes I had (by reason of obstructions happening in my body) for a day or two or three at the most, was not concealed from my husband before he wooed and married me, for both my selfe and my sister the Lady Burton, tould him of it at Aukland, as my Sister the Lady Gerard had tould him before of it at London. I am and never was of any other mind but this, nor did I ever write any other letter to my deare husband to the contrary.

"3. I never Allienated my affection from him, and, by God's grace, shall never do it; nor did ever any person whatsoever use the least persuasion to lessen my love to

him, but rather to continue firme in it, as I haue always don and shall do during my life.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto with a good and true heart subscribed my hand

"ANNE GRENVILE."

"Subscribed in the presence of us

"Miles Stapylton Noʳʸ Pub.

S[ecretary] Thᵒˢ Blakiston Noʳʸ Pub.

"4. P.S. I do not lessen my affection to my husband by refusing to joyne or haue a share with him in squeezing money from my Lord my father; neither can I in conscience be so ungratefull and unnatural as to give my assent unto it.

"ANNE GRENVILE."

At another time she writes to the Bishop that she wonders that any should informe him that her husband writes unhansome things to her friends; "truly I usually see his letters and I can't say soe," and the last rumble of the departing storm is a declaration by the wife, written under the husband's influence probably, to this effect:—

"I doe hereby declare that I am fully satisfied with my husband's actions and proceedings, that they haue been such as become an affectionate husband; that I am sorry for writing (by yᵉ advice of others) anything to yᵉ contrary, or any waies unbecoming a wife towards her husband. And that I shall for ye future in all concerns bee guided by him, which I acknowledge both my dutie and intrest to doe.

"In confirmation whereof I doe here sett my hand this 19ᵗʰ day of November 1666.

"ANNE GRENVILE."

The following paper was evidently drawn up by Dennis Granville as a statement of facts upon which Lord Clarendon could base the Royal Letter above given:—

"MEMORANDA'S CONCERNING THE VNHAPPY DEBATE
"AND DIFFERENCE BETWEEN YE B. OF D. AND MY
"SELFE.

"*July*, 66.

"1st That my Lord of D. (without my seeking as my freinds can testifie) first invited me into the North, and by his grave advice and great incouragments prevailed on mee to marry his Daughter

"2ly That there hath not one penny portion been given with his Daughter to mee, (though plentifully to others) nor any other promise of advantage (made by his Agents and relating to ye match) been performed.

"3ly That the preferments which my Lord hath bestowed on mee amounting to six hundred pounds per annum or vpwards (for which I shall allwayes be very thankfull) were freely given to mee (as I did imagine) for mine own sake; because they can't be regarded in a match without grosse symony, which I am very vnwilling to think my Lord of D. guilty of; and more vnwilling in this censorius age to bring suspition of guilt on my selfe by resting contented without a portion. Or if I had imagined that my mouth should have been only stopt with preferment I should never have wronged my conscience by accepting of them.

"4ly That his Lordship's Daughter (though of a very good nature and modest disposition diserving much respect, and which she shall ever have from mee) was some yeares

before she married subject to an vnhappy distemper in her braine sufficient to allay the greatest temporall felicity (though not to diminish my affection) and likely to be propogated to posterity.

"5ly. That this distemper was concealed from mee till after I was married; nothing thereof declared to mee but a sicknesse in generall vizt. that she was subject to fevers, &c. but nothing (I will be deposed) sufficient to make any rationall man beleive that 'twas a distemper of the nature that Phisitians affirm it is.

"6ly That my Lord detaines my Wife from mee, and will not permitt her to come to mee (it may be easily guessed why) though one of the cheifest ends of my sending for her be to take advice of the most eminent Physitians and to vse all reasonable meanes for her recovery.

"7ly That ye incumbrances which ye preferment[s] brought along with them and other necessary expences at first setting vp house (which was very sudden by my Lord's forbidding me to live with him) amount to 800li. and vpwards, as I can make appeare by particulars.

"8ly That my Lord of D. (notwithstanding a promise made by his Agent of living three yeares in his house) forbad mee to live therein in a short while after I was married (though he himselfe was absent and his house empty) which sudden seting vp house keeping plung'd me into many fresh debts, being then behinde hand with the world, and wholly unfurnished of chair, stoole, or any thing else towards house keeping.

"9ly That my Lord's severity is such, that all his Children (but my Lady G. his Daughter) complaine thereof as well as myselfe, though I am sure they have not halfe so much cause, which makes mee beleive it was my Lord's

rigour aswell as releigion that caused his owne (and only Sonn) to depart from him to y^e^ Church of Roome, and that likewise forc't him off the second time when hee return'd, hee chusing rather (as I haue often heard him say) to trayle a pike for bread (as he doth at present in his Majesty's regiment of Guards vnder Captaine Doioning) then to live at home with his Father.

" 10^ly^ That my Lord (not to speake of many former repulses, and much ill language) assureing mee with his owne mouth before I tooke my last journey, that I should never have one penny of him while I breathed, I tooke this journey to implore his Majesty's countenance and favour (if the assistance of my relations could not prevaile) without which, or some other expedient, I and my Wife must needs be very miserable.

" 11^ly^ That I am conscious of nothing but integrity in this affaire notwithstanding his Lordship so loudly exclaimed against mee, which he never did till I demanded money, nay I am so confident of my innocency that if any person alive will confirm what hath been said, but his Lordship and my Lady G. and their creatures which have some dependance vpon them, I will submitt and rest satisfied.

" 12^ly^ That my Wife all this while (notwithstanding many endeavours to alienate her affections, continues very affectionate to mee, and is well satisfied with my proceedings, (though not with my absence) as all her letters testifie, except those which she hath been compelled to write contrary to her conscience as she hath confes't to me in other letters which I can produce vpon occasion, asking my pardon for her compliance, all which she will be willing to testify in her most sober temper, if I could gett her from her Father (which will be very difficult to doe) and perchance complaine more than I have done.

"13ly That if my Lord would have given me at first demand one Thousand pounds, no vnreasonable thing when he hath given seaven with another Daughter married to a younger Brother as well as myselfe, and as incapable of makeing a joynture, it would have done my worke and satisfied me that I should never have taken this present course, (for the occasion whereof I am very sorry) which ye mere preservation of my selfe from ruine hath forc't mee vpon, being incumbred with soe great a debt, which without extraordinary assistance (if I keep house) I shall not be able to pay off in seaven yeares, before which time I and my reputation may possibly rot in ye grave.

"14ly That notwithstanding all the ill vsage I have met withall, and dirt flung on mee by my Lord in his passion vnjustly as I will make appeare if there bee occasion by the testimoniall of all the Clergy and Gentry in the Country, yet I will be satisfied at present with two Thousand pounds which is absolutely necessary to my condition (so that my Lord will let me live quietly), one Thousand whereof I am contented to be put out for my Wife, only receiving the interest, and the other to be paid to my selfe to discharge my debts and free my selfe from my trouble, which otherwise may crush my Wife as well as my selfe.

"15ly That my Brother has offered to doe his part (more then I could reasonably desier) in reference to a joynture if my Lord had been willing to have laid downe a summ of ready money, which certainly he could not be so backward to doe if it were not for one of his Daughters, which would faine ingross all into her own coffers, and whereof I think his Lordship hath experience as well as my selfe.

"16ly That if his Lordshipp should not comply vpon his Majesty's letter (as I hope hee will) but make a defence

for himselfe and continue to exclaim against mee, I doe humbly beseech his Majesty to referre the examination of y^e^ matter to two Reverend Prelates, or any his Majesty shall think fitt to vindicate my honour, if not pay my debts, which surely is soe reasonable that my Lord can't deny his assent thereto, if he should he must needs bring a prejudice vpon his cause, and I desire all persons to judge of y^e^ reasonablenesse of his other denyalls by that.

"17^tly^ That if my businesse be throughly scan'd it doth not appeare I have receaved such vsage as never Gentleman in the like case did before, all things considered, I will not only resigne vp my preferments againe, but give his Lordship (if I am ever worth it) as much mony as I demand from him).

"And then surely whether this complaint be
"groundles (as my Lord stiles it) I will leave
"to all the world to judge. The truth of all
"that has been said I am as willing to confirme by
"my Oath if occasion should require as att present
"by my words."

[Endorsed:—] "Concerning the vnhappy
"difference between y^e^
"Bpp. of D. and his
"Son G."

CHAPTER IV.

In the spring of the year 1670, we have another glimpse of the family relations. Dating from London, 16th April, the Bishop writes to his secretary as follows:—

"I am little beholden to my friends and servants at Durham, who have lett two posts come hither this week without ever a word from them. I wonder that neither my daughter here nor my selfe could ever hear any thing from ye concerning her sister Greenvill, who, she is told, is not well used at home; and what becomes of the due payments of the thousand pounds for her portion to her trustees, you never tell me."

As a matter of fact Mrs. Granville's mental health, perhaps the result of all the recent worry, had become much worse, and two Durham physicians, having certified that she was subject to fits of madness, recommended Archdeacon Granville to take her away for change of air. On the journey south other physicians were consulted at York, who confirmed the opinion expressed by their colleagues at Durham, and again at Oxford others coincided with their views.

The Bishop writes to his secretary:—

"Mr. Grenvyle's priviledge is now out of doors; for his priviledge lasteth no longer than 20 dayes after the adjournment of the Parliament. I told you in my last that he had carried his wife from Bigglesworth to Oxford, and now I can tell you that he hath left her there, where she is not

acquainted at all, with a kinswoman of his there whom I know not, being himselfe come up hither to London to see the funerall of the late Generall, which is this day to pass from Sommerset House to Westminster. Hee tells me his wife is very well, and that the waters were so much out, as they journyed about Newarke, that they were forct to stay 12 dayes by the way, which I thinke was no way to cure her from the lightnes of her head, but rather a certaine way to augment her old, or else to get her a new and worse disorder. And when I found fault with him for mistiming their journey and bringing up his wife in that manner as he did, and before the weather and the way were well settled, hee answered mee that Dr. Tonstall and Dr. Willson gave him order so to doe, and by no meanes would let him stay till May began, which I can hardly believe; and therefore I pray commend me to Dr. Willson, and tell him, if he gave that advice, as I beleive he did not, it is not approved here by any of our friends or by the Colledge of Physitians, whereunto her husband pretends to bring her from Oxford the next time he can say or find she ailes any thing; and I pray let me have both Dr. Tonstall and Dr. Willson's answer whether they gave advice or no to this hurrying her up to London at the beginning of Aprill, when the wayes and the weather were so ill that no woman, though ever so well, would haue ventured a journey hither" (London Apl. 30th).

"Mr Greenvyle I haue not seene, save only that night when he came to towne, and told me he had left his wife at Oxford very well, after she had stay'd 12 dayes on the way by reason of the great waters, which was enough to haue displeas'd a stronger temper than she is." (London, May 3rd).

"I like not Dr Wilson's and Dr Tunstall's advice to give my daughter Greenvyle any mercury, which will be like presently to make an end of her; nor doe I thinke that any good physitians here will approve it: but she is still at Oxford, and her husband coaching it here up and downe the streetes here in London, where none of us here have seen him since his first coming hither to towne: nor doe wee take any great contentment in seeing or speaking or perswading with him, either concerning him selfe or his wife, for we know his delight is to contradict anything than wee can move to him; and I thinke hee studyes all wayes hee can (and studyes nothing els,) how to grieve and vex both his wife and all her friends." (London, May 10th).

"Mr Greenvill never comes here to me since the first time that he came hither to town by moon light, being now (as I am told by others) gone to Oxford again, where he carried and left my daughter with a new maid only amongst strangers! *Quid faciamus hoc homine!* (London, May 14th).

"You told me in one of your letters a while since, as I perceive you told Sir Gilbert in your last letter to him, that Mr Greenvyle payeth no debdts, which is a shame for him: but particularly you told Sir Gilbert that he does not pay the money to you that are the trustees for my daughter his wife, which I thinke is a shame for you that are the trustees to suffer, and therefore I pray omit no longer time to seize upon the corps of his Prebend and Easington. How hee came to get the 300li of my cosin Mr William Blakiston of Pittingdon, I know not, for I doe not remember that I gave my consent to it. Mr Greenvyle deserves no favour or forebearance." (London, May 17th.).

"Yester night Mr Greenvyle, after 4 days being in the towne, brought his wife hither to the Pall Mall, who looks very well and is in perfect health notwithstanding the hurry that he gave her by the way for a month together, in hope, I doubt, to have presented her to his acquaintance and relations here at London in one of her fitts, and thereupon to have consulted the College of Physitians and made a needless noise of it over all the city." (London, May 31st.).

"Yester night hee (Mr Greenvyle) had a consultation of 5 physitians concerning his wife, whom he labours to prove mad by the report of the country and the testimony of Dr Wilson and Dr Tunstall which for that purpose hee brought with him hither to London, together with the testimony of 2 physitians at Yorke and 2 more of his acquaintance at Oxford. But the physitians here are not of that mind, resolving it that her disease was only fits of the mother, from which she hath been free ever since she came to Durham, and been as well as ever she was in her life. I read yesterday in Epictetus that some persons are so apt to bee ingratefull that they even hate those from whom they receive much kindness, because such kindness obligeth them to be more thankefull then they are willing to bee. *Tantum est.*" (London, June 16th).

"Sir Thomas Stringer is drawing up a conclusion for Mr Greenvyle to pay the Trustees, but I shall believe nothing till they get the money, for Mr Greenvyle is not to be trusted either in this or in the matter of his wive's health, who, though she was never better in her life then since she came from Durham, yet hee hath arraigned her before a consultation of physitians here, and labour'd to prove her, upon the strength of Dr Wilson's and Dr Tun-

stall's certificate, to be subject to maniack passion, and to shew the greater kindness to her had provided 2 physitians more, who us'd to keep mad men and mad women in their houses; but Sir Alexander Frazer and Sir Charles Scarborough together with Dr Needham and Dr Allen, one that lookes to mad people, have agreed together, and sufficiently confuted the Durham physitians, that she hath no kind of mania in her head at all; adding and saying that the Durham certificate comes from men that are unworthy to practise physick, and that it smells more of ignorance and malice than of any reason or knowledge." (London, June 21st).

Granville had not returned to his duties in November, for on the 18th of that month Dean Sudbury writes:—

"We expect a Letter" (viz., a Royal dispensation) "in behalf of Mr Greenvill, who intends to continue with his wife at London not onely this winter but another spring and fall if not longer."

And Bishop Cosin writes on December 3rd:—

"Mr Grenvile hath not yet obtained any Letters of Dispensation for his absence from Durham and his other places of cure, nor shall I consent unto it, haveing the promise of both the principall Secretaryes that the Letters shall not be drawn without my assent thereunto. The man is still gadding at Oxford, and I doubt borrowing of money there also. What his agents at Durham say to you about the observing his directions and his promises I expect to heare from you."

"I know not what to doe with Mr Grenvyle, who is still at Oxford idling away his time, and suffering his curates

to be as non-resident at Easington and Sedgfield as he himselfe is, under the colour of his wife's taking physick, who for ought I see never needed any, for from her comeing to Durham to this day she was never better in all her life, though she be now thrust up into a coop, and a strait close place, which may much endanger her health. But hee is a wilfull man and will order her as hee lists. In the meanewhile, though I went to visit both him and her a month since, I never saw either of them at my lodgings here, for she dares not goe forth of her own without his leave, which leave it seems hee left not behind him." (Pall Mall, London, Dec. 13th).

On the 20th of December Dennis Granville took his Doctor of Divinity's degree at Oxford; and Mr. Davies, his curate at Easington, took his at the same time. Bishop Cosin is decidedly sarcastic on this double event.

"Mr Grenvyle, now a *Bullatus Doctor*, is not yet come from Oxford, where Davyes hath been all this while with him . . . I pray let me know how long Davyes and Beaumont were absent from their Curateships, and who were appointed in their absence to supply them, for it is very requisite that they should be questioned for their absence without any leave first obtained from the Bishop or his Chancellour." (Pall Mall, London, Dec. 31st).

"Mr Grenvyle hath got himselfe to bee *Doctor Bullatus* at Oxford, and procured his curate, Mr Davies, to goe out a Doctor also with him. Hee stays still at Oxford, being as I believe in debt there, and hath sent his bosome friend and Doctor, Mr Davies, home into the country to procure money for their fee to the Beadles and

Officers at Oxford, from whence hee knows not how to get handsomely away till hee hath payd those fees and other his debts there." (Pall Mall, London, Jan. 19th).

"I heare that the new Doctor Grenvile, haveing spent a great deal of money at Oxford, is now gone to spend more in France for want of health and quiet in England, beeing, as I guess, affraid to shew his head either here in London or in the north, where hee hath made shift to spend all his great revenues, and to be still greatly in debdt, which truly is a great mystery to mee." (Pall Mall, London, Feb. 9th).

The *Doctor Bullatus* had bested the Bishop in the matter of a Letter of Dispensation, for, in spite of the promises made him by the two principal Secretaries, the following Royal Dispensation had already been granted more than a month previous to the Bishop's letter.

"COURT OF WHITEHALL,

"29th *October*, 1670.

"The King to John, Bishop of Durham.

"We dispense with the residence of Denis Grenville, one of our Chaplains in Ordinary, Archdeacon and Prebendary of Durham, and Rector of Sedgefield, in any of the aforesaid places for the present and the next year, and he, having been hindered some months by extraordinary concerns in London and Westminster, the said Dispensation is to hold good for six months past."

Granville was only waiting to take his D.D. and then, in order doubtless to avoid his creditors, as the Bishop

suggested, betook himself to France, leaving Mrs. Granville behind him for a while, till he had settled upon a place of residence, "mewed up in a strait corner of Threadneedle Street in London" (writes the Bishop), "and she knows not what to doe with her selfe, not dareing to come hither, because he hath countermanded it, and said that hee will not allow her 2d if she comes to live in my family, wherein hee shews himselfe to bee very unreasonable and very ungratefull both to her and mee.

"I heare from Oxford that Davies would haue been admitted Doctor before his Master, which the Vice-Chancellour cal'd an impudence in the one to ask it, and a great simplicity in the other that would haue suffer'd it, if the Vice-Chancellour him selfe had not refus'd it. They are now *Doctores Bullati*, and are both gone from the University in debt for their fees to the Vice-Chancellour, Proctor, Beadles, and other officers there."

The last reference in the Bishop's letters is as follows:

"I know not what to thinke of the juggle that I think is used between the Archdeacon and his agents . . . I know not in what part of France hee is, nor have I heard from him nor my daughter since hee commanded her away from hence without my knowledge or takeing any leave or blessing from me."

This was written on the 23rd of May, 1671. For over a year the state of the Bishop's health had given great and increased disquietude to those about him, but he lingered on till the 15th of January, 1672, suffering great pain, especially during the last two months of his sickness. In his will which was made on 12th December, 1671, he says:—

"To my youngest daughter Mrs Anne Grenvyle I have allready given not only one thousand pounds for her portion, and the growing increase thereof from time to time dureing her life, but alsoe a lease of Walkington Woods and demesnes in Howdenshire, for the life of her selfe and her husband, Dr Denys Grenvyle, both settled in Trustees' hands, and now I doe further bequeath unto her the profitt and interest of one other equall fifth part that shall remaine of the sale of my goods and chattells as aforesaid, and to that end I desire my Executors to dispose of the said fifth part into good and trusty hands, where it shall remaine, soe that she shall only receive the increase thereof yearely from my Executors, or those that are entrusted by them, dureing coverture; but if she survive her husband I give unto her one moiety of the said fifth part absolutely, to be disposed as she pleaseth, and that she receive only the profitt and interest of the other moiety during her life; which said moiety, after her decease, I give to her children, in case she leave any, and for want of such child or children I give the said last moiety to the three children of my daughter Frances lately deceased, that is to say John Gerard, Vere Gerard, and Francis Blakestone, to be equally divided amongst them; and alsoe the former moiety thereof after the decease of my daughter Grenvyle, in case she dye before her husband, I give and bequeath to the children of my daughter the Lady Burton equally to be divided amongst them."

This will was a disappointment to Dennis Granville, as in a former one it was known that the Bishop had left Mrs. Granville fifteen hundred pounds in money, which he had depended on to pay his debts with. "This," he writes, quite broke my back, and put me under an unavoidable

necessity of getting money on the hardest termes by way of annuities and rent-charges, paying as I haue done for 8 yeares together 20li per cent for 2000li or thereabouts: which thing I did to demonstrate to the world that I was an honest man and willing that noe man should loose by mee, but by their owne choice."

While abroad Mrs. Granville consulted a French physician, who advised the following dietary which is both curious and amusing:—

"Il faut que Madame de Grandville prene le matin a son recueil un buillon faict d'un morceau de veau et d'un poullet, ou on fera bouiller la bourroche, buglosse, ozeille et betes.

"A middy elle mangera du potage faict de la meme viande, ou on peut adjouster un peu de mouton et de ceste viande elle en mangera avec moderacion.

"Le soir elle soupera d'un poullet, ou d'un morceau du veau, ou d'un morceau d'agneau ou d'un lapereau, et s'abstiendra de viandes grossieres come beuf, lard, de viandes noires, comme canard, lievres, et de paticeries. Et en un mot elle evitera tout ce qui faut on sur grossier, et des obstructions, evitera aussi les legumes et toute sort de ragousts."

It was doubtless on the strength of this dietary that Dr. Granville wrote the following letter to one of his hospitable friends, who wished to welcome them back when at last, after an absence of four years, Archdeacon and Mrs. Granville returned to Durham in the spring of 1674.

ARCHDEACON GRANVILLE TO WILLIAM DAVISON, ESQ.

"*Tuesday night* 6 a clock.

"Mr DAVISON.—I shall not faile to be with (you) tomorrow about six a clock to sup with you, but you cannot

disoblige me more than to give my wife a great supper, tho' it should not be flesh. That, and tipling in the afternoon, with the strong water bottles and the like, are the most injurious things imaginable for her. I do the sooner comply to go about with my wife, and visit my friends at this season (Lent?), hoping that people will not be so indiscreet and disorderly as to treat us, as at other times, with sweet-meats and drink which my wife's infirmities cannot bear. I intend to go downe into Elvet about 4 or 5 of the clock, and to spend an hour or two with your mother, Dr Browne, and some other friends, and then wait upon you and your lady, which is all but that I am

"Your affectionate servant,

"DENIS GRENVILLE.

"To William Davison, Esq."

On the 8th of July, 1674, Archdeacon Granville underwent a most humiliating and public exposure of his pecuniary difficulties. He was conducting the funeral of one Captain Foster in the Cathedral, which was attended by two hundred gentry and many hundred others, when some creditors "fell foul" on him, and "in an odious manner arrested him, in the very cloysters of the Cathedral Church in his hood and surplice, immediately after the conclusion of the service."

By a high-spirited man like Granville, "with the strong dash of the cavalier about him" (as Surtees happily expresses it), this must have been felt as a most galling affront; for the pride of the high-bred gentleman, as well as the dignity of the Churchman, must alike have been most bitterly wounded. It was in vain that he pleaded his privilege as Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the King; the bailiffs were inexorable; an appeal to Mr. Richard Neile,

the under-sheriff, was equally unsuccessful, and Dr. Granville was carried off to gaol "with many aggravating circumstances."

The matter, however, was not allowed to rest there. The appeal which was made in vain to the under-sheriff and his bailiffs, was brought before the King in Council without much delay. On the 17th of the same month Dr. Granville's petition was read at the Council-board at Hampton Court, at which were present "the King's most excellent Majesty; His Highness Prince Rupert; the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; the Lord Keeper; the Lord Treasurer; the Lord Privy Seal; the Duke of Monmouth; the Marquis of Dorchester; the Lord Chamberlain; the Earl of Bridgwater; the Earl of Peterborough; the Earl of Bath; the Earl of Craven; the Earl of Arlington; the Earl of Carbery; Viscount Halifax; the Lord Bishopp of London; Lord Barkeley; M^r^ Vice-Chamberlain; M^r^ Secretary Coventry; M^r^ Montague; M^r^ Chancellor of the Exchequer; M^r^ Chancellor of the Dutchy, and the Master of the Ordnance."

The Council requested the Dean and Chapter of Durham to supply them with the details of what was done in their presence, but the Dean and Prebends, all but two (Dr. Basire and Dr. Brevint), "refus'd me common justice in an honest cause," writes Dr. Granville, "which appear'd afterward, before the King's Councell, my Lord Chief Justice Rainsford, at the Sizes, and y^e^ Bishop of Durham's Temporall Chancellour, as clear as y^e^ sun."

Mr. Neile, the under-sheriff; Mr. Thomas Mascall, attorney; John Garth, his clerk; Thomas Brantingham, Ralph Westgarth, and Christopher Balland, the three bailiffs; and Francis Forster, Thomas Carnaby, and Miles Stapelton, gentlemen, were ordered to appear within ten

days before the Council-board. The result was that "the King was pleased very much to reprehend Mr Carnabie, a person concerned in it, and to direct his Attorney-General to prosecute him and Mr Neile. But on the submission of Mr Carnabie a pardon was granted to him, and also to Mr Richard Neile, on the petition of his father Sir Paul Neile, and on expressing his sorrow for his misdemeanour, who declared himself ignorant that Dr Granville was His Majesty's Chaplain-in-Ordinary." Mr. Neile, however, was deprived of his office of under-sheriff, though he was probably re-instated in it afterwards on his submission.

The next two letters have reference to Dr. Granville's treatment of Dissenters, and the suppression of conventicles. The former is a letter to Mr. John Dale upon his endeavours "to draw of his wife my kinswoman from ye Religion of ye Church of England"; the second is an amusing and jocular reply to a letter he had written to Mr. Secretary Cooke to know whether he might not as a Justice of the Peace put the recent Act against Conventicles into execution rather than adopt the usual long and slow ecclesiastical process as Archdeacon.

ARCHDEACON GRANVILLE TO MR. JOHN DALE.

"Sir,—Together with my vnfeigned wishes of joy and happiness upon your marriage with my kinswoman, I crave leave to give you a little seasonable and friendly advice and caution, to which duty I think my self now obliged by some kind of relation, as well as my office. You cannot forgett that I have lately shown you some respect in my proceeding; and I now declare to you againe that I shall be alwaies willing to doe the same, provided that you doe not abuse nor misconstrue the kindnesse I am forward to shew. But

to be plaine with you, if it be true what I heare concerning you, I shall not only repentt of my past forbearance, but *single* you out to be made an Example among those others cited (whom I have given a large time of consideration). The businesse is this; you have (as I heare) constrained my kinswoman your wife (for whom I professe to have a great respect) to resort to your unlawfull meetings, notwithstanding she hath been alwayes trained up in our way of worship, and to my knowledge was (and is I hope still) well affected towards itt. I must tell you plainly (Sir) in this, (if you persist) you act y^e^ part of a *seducer*, and forfitt all that favour and grace which his Majesty ever designed should be shewen tender consciences in the peaceable enjoyment of their own religion. And I shall make use of all that small authority and power, ecclesiastical and civil, which is committed to me to deterr you from such like practices, which I must tell you (by y^e^ way) doe confute your own pretentions, and thwart your principles, acting directly opposite to that known christian rule of doeing as you would be done unto. You desire liberty of conscience, but deny to give it to your wife, for though you cannot disown but that there is (as y^e^ case stands) very much more reason for you to afford it to our own people in your circumstances, than for you to demand it from us.

"Vpon these considerations I doe require you to forbear all such endeavours, either in respect of my Cousin or others; and I must likewise require her, as she values y^e^ peace of her conscience (for I know she is not convinced that your way is best) and her own quiet, to refrain from any more such like separations. Wherefore it will be your duty and interrest too, to quicken her in y^e^ diligent observation of the wholesome rules and precepts of the Church of England, whereof she hath ever professed her

selfe a member. I cannot think you so disingenuous and unreasonable (though I condem the way you are in for very erroneus) as to refuse your comphance in this particular, which will be an enducement to me to encrease my respect towards you, with whom I intend now to be better acquainted as oppertunity shall serve, in order to the having some christian correspondence and conference, not withstanding y^e^ great differences in our opinions concerning religion. I have had a good report of your civil naturall temper and disposition, and I hope I shall experience it hereafter, as at present, by a speedy and effectuall answer to y^e^ particular specified, which will be very well taken by him that desires to expresse himselfe and continue,

"Your very real and loving freind and servantt,

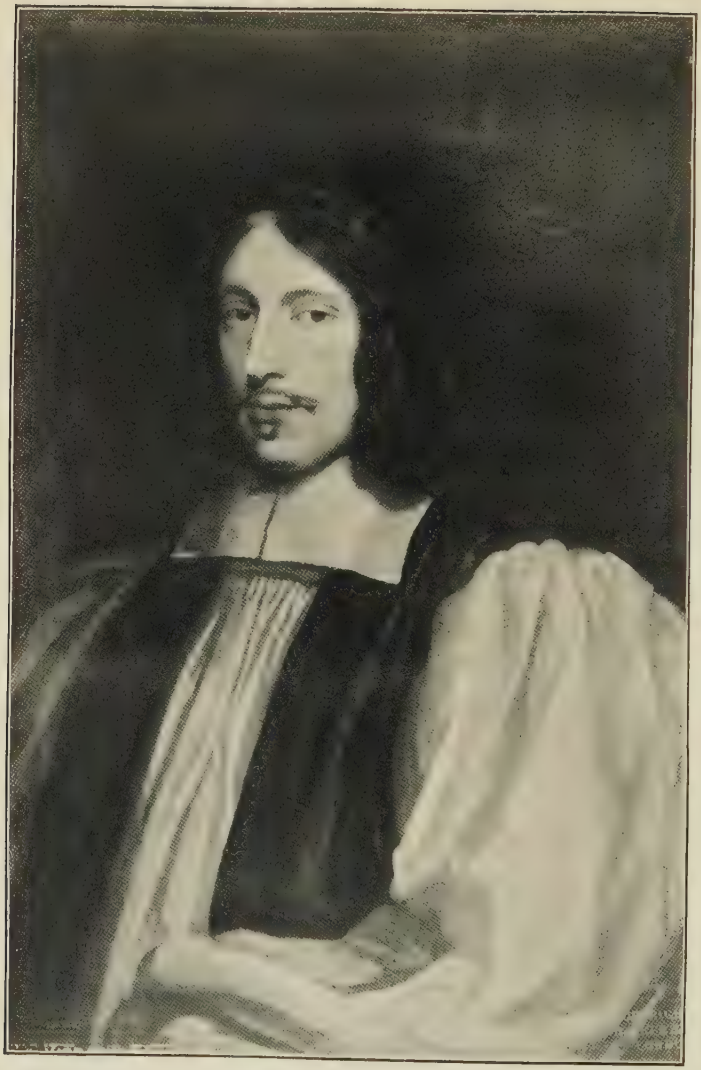
"DENNIS GREENVILLE.

"July 4th, 1674."

MR. SECRETARY COOKE TO ARCHDEACON GRANVILLE.

"WHITEHALL, *Aug.* 4, 1674.

"HONOURED SIR,—It is long since I received yours of July 5^th^ which I also communicated to M^r^ Secretary, as you desired; and I think he took his first opportunity to acquaint his Majesty with the contents of it. When I desired to know what answer I should returne to you, I was told that lawes were made to be observed, and that the King's Ministers in their respective places knew their duties without having recourse to his Majesty upon every occasion. I was told also that there is a passage in some play, where a pert pregnant lad put certain questions to a grave gentleman, who being unable or unwilling to answer him, and perceiving that he was not very cleanly, diverted the discourse by stroking him on the head and saying 'Wash



NATHANIEL CREWE, D.D., BISHOP OF DURHAM.

thy face, my preety boy, and ask no more questions.' I have no more to adde but that I am with all truth and respect, Sir,

"Your most humble servant,

"Jo: Cooke."

Nathaniel Crewe, the Bishop of Oxford, was translated to Durham, the 22nd of October, 1674. He was a younger son of Lord Crewe of Stene, and by the death of his elder brothers he afterwards succeeded to the title in 1691. Archdeacon Granville used his Michaelmas Visitation of 1674 for the purpose of putting the diocese into as good order as possible preparatory to the bishop's arrival. The appointment was one which met with his full approval, and he speaks of their new bishop as one "from whom wee have ground of hope to have all incouragement to doe our duty. A Pastor soe capable in a multitude of respects to doe God and this Church service." But he had to preface his Visitation Charge with an explanation of his long absence from the diocese which had caused much dissatisfaction.

"My absence hath been long, but noe longer than my conscience (I blesse God) did assure me that I had reason for the same. However I know I have been undeservedly censured by some, and whether I shall be able to remove their censures I know not. To satisfie the consciences of other men is a matter of noe small difficulty; but this I can affirme, if I had not satisfied mine owne I had not staid away an yeare, a month, or a day. Whether mine impediments have been just, God best knowes, I trust they have been soe, and hope that divers of my Brethren will not contradict the same or gainsay. If the unhappinesse of my affaires and family have been extraordinary, and

necessitated me unto my ill appearance, let my brethren blesse God that theirs are otherwise, and not load me with their censures. What men's censures have been I am not ignorant, and what the present thoughts are I can give a shrewd guesse. Gentlemen, I am to satisfie mine owne conscience and not other mens. And I blesse God I doe itt. I know my case is extraordinary as well as my non-residence. Thinke not, Brethren, that my absence will stop my mouth or proceedings. I am not conscious of such guilt. My unavoidable absence shall not make me connive at any non-residence that is unjustifiable; much lesse at the neglect of people's duty who have been resident. I thanke my God I have as much indignation against such a temper as some may charge mee with as any of my accusers. Lett's examine our consciences a little and see whose livings have been best supplied,—mine, who have been absent, or some of yours whoe have been present. . . . Whether I am absent or present I shall take care that my dutye may be done, and I would God that every other would afford mee but soe much satisfaction," etc.

He then goes on to bid them prepare for the new bishop's arrival. "I was apt to conceive and did in charity believe that, as before my absence from England this diocese was exemplary in some things to other dioceses, soe it would in the space of foure yeares have advanced forward, and have been exemplary for many others." Then in order to quicken the clergy to their duties he issued a number of directions and injunctions preparatory to the Bishop's Visitation the following Easter. These are very much on the lines of the Directions which he gave his curates before he left England, and have reference to catechising; daily services; the visiting of their parishioners, both sick and whole; the observation of the rubrics and

canons, etc. He also enjoins the immediate drawing up of a Terrier for each parish of all Glebe lands, to be presented at the Bishop's primary Visitation.

There is one item in the Directions which may be quoted at length, having reference to the Rogation-tide perambulation of the parishes:—

"That the Injunction of Queene Elizabeth for perambulation be not only constantly observed, but observed with all due gravity and reverence without that idle and juvenile (nay, frothy) discourse and carriage, very common among parishioners, espetially the younger sort, who make it rather a businesse of divertisement than devotion; and that the Minister faile not to entertaine the people in their walkes (at seasonable times) with good, wholesome, and religious discourse becoming soe religious an act and custome."

The following letter, indorsed "Durham, Nov. 7, 1674, from Mr. Archdeacon of Durham:—

"(1) The case of baptizing the child of parents excommunicate.

"(2) Elenchus about the Installation, etc.,"

shows that contests still prevailed in the chapter of Durham and the unpopularity of Archdeacon Granville.

FROM DENNIS GRANVILLE, ARCHDEACON OF DURHAM

TO

ISAAC BASIRE D.D. ARCHDEACON OF NORTHUMBERLAND,

Nov. 7, 1674.

"Quære. Whether the child of a person excommunicate for fornication, and continuing obstinate, without the least remorse or shew of repentance, the said child being born during the said obstinacy, which renders the parents as

heathens and publicans, whether the child may bee baptized before the parents' reconcilement to the Church? I resolve it affirmately; however I desire your better judgment.

"You will see, Sir, in the inclosed letter of one of the cleargy of my Jurisdiction the case more at large. Hee supposes it the same case with the child of an infidell or pagan, whoe, being out of the pale of the Church, cannot entitle their children, before they can answer for themselves, to Baptisme.

"I am now buisely employed to repay the debt which I owe you, and which I resolve to doe, by the assistance of God, on Sunday come sen'-night. Wherefore I beg pardon if I come not in person. Sir, I heartily beg your prayers in reference to the pulpitt, and in a multitude of other respects; for really, Sir, I am badly treated, whereof you were a witnesse yesterday. It was harsh language I received to bee accused of *writing untruthes to the Bishop and of being quarrelsome.* As for the first, lett your own children, my brother and cosen Basire, cleare me. I never writt any thing to the Bishop but they have seen itt. And for the latter, it is the unjustest calumny in the world, unlesse I was quarrelsome in asserting the honour and priviledges of the Church in the businesse of my late odious arrest. If I must be esteemed contentious because I will not betray the priviledges of the Church and Churchmen, I will continue soe, (by God's grace,) whilst I breathe. And if I will not consent to have a slur cast upon my very good lord of Durham, (to whom I have particular obligations), I must be accused for seeking an occasion of quarrel, I cannot helpe it; but recommend my cause to God, whoe knowes the integrity of my heart in this particular.

Sir, I humbly beg your countenance and favour in reference to our contests in the Chapter, I will never main-

taine any cause but what is honest. You see they are cruelly sett against me, and soe prejudiced that I cannot have credit with the Dean in anything I say; when Mr Neile and Stapilton (and some others of the same latitude of conscience) speake nothing but what is authentick. Begging (in this great exercise of my patience) your prayers and benediction

"I rest, Sir,

"Your most faithfull humble servantt,

"D. GRENVILLE.

"To the Rev. Mr Archdeacon of North
"umberland, humbly present these."

The next letter is addressed to Mr. Isaac Basire, the Archdeacon of Northumberland's eldest son, who married another daughter of Bishop Cosin's, and is the "brother" referred to in the above letter. This letter tells of a narrow escape from death Dr. Granville had through the fall of Dr. Brevint's house in the Close during a gale. Dr. Brevint was Prebendary of the tenth stall in Durham cathedral and afterwards Dean of Lincoln. He and Archdeacon Basire were apparently the only two members of the Chapter who at all supported Dennis Granville.

FROM ARCHDEACON GRANVILLE TO ISAAC BASIRE, ESQ.

"*St. Thomas' day*, 6 of the clock in the morn.

"MY DEAR BROTHER,—This comes to enquire (with all seriousnesse) whether you and yours are alive and well, that I may have occasion (on your account) to praise God in

your behalfes; as I hope that you will doe in mine and the behalfe of this honest family. Whiles we were fooling last night, too much indeed for the tyme (a time of danger) and the day (a day of devotion) it pleased God that the wind blew downe Misse's chamber, the roof chrushing the very bed flat on the floor. '*Te Deum laudamus, te Deum confitemur.*" Had D^r^ Brevint and his good lady and sweet child been at home, they and their whole family, with mee their (and your) unworthy servant, had been in all probability hurried into another world. For it happened just about the houre that the whole family usually assembled together in that roome in order to some devotim preparatory to their bed. I see that it was a good angell and a kind Providence that carried them away, and which kept M^r^ Chancellour from accepting the civility which they designed him (they allotting that very chamber for his use), and may the same still watch over us all and engage us to make a due returne to Heaven for such preservation. If this comes early to disturb your rest and provoke you to a like devotion, 'tis noe more than my coat will justifie, being an act nether unbecoming the Christian nor Divine. And if wee doe *all*, and in our several stations, betake ourselves alitle this morning thereto, it will be noe more than our dutie doth oblige us to; to make amends for the unseasonable vanity and airynesse of last night. The man (not to say the master) was a little more *merry* than *wise* (it must be confessed) considering the then threats of heaven, and both peccant in spending any part of soe sacred a day in juvenile and light divertisement, when a Letany had been much more propper. '*A subitaneâ et improvisâ morte, libera nos Domine.*" I will learne hereafter, whatever my man doth, some of your last nights gravity, (which, upon serious and second thoughts, I

cannot condemne) which is good earnest, as this time proves, (a time of common calamity) rebukes the Archdeacon with his Archidiaconall (and Episcopall) servantt, for not keeping the very mirth, where they are present, within its due bounds, when either of them, by their present circumstances, have particular obligations thereto. Here you have my confession, let mee have your absolution, as you have my praise. And I doe promise you that I will endeavour to keep hereafter my selfe, my company, and my man, from any such irregularity and excesse which, by the unseasonablenesse (though not otherwise) becomes blameable. The storme continuing thus violent, wee must expect to heare of a multitude of accidents throughout the nation. And in good earnest upon reflection, I wonder at my selfe and others, how wee can (at a time of imminent danger to ourselves and a multitude of our brethren), divert ourselves with airy, nay, apish tricks and discourse when there is a call from Heaven, if not to expresse devotion, yet to some sober grave and sapid conversation.

"Doe not wonder to find me scared into a second sermon. The danger of this family and my selfe, hath roused up all the litle devotion that is (in) my soule, and if I should not communicate some part of it to my friend, I should bee unkind and unjust. Wee have all, that have been exposed to this west wind (as the houses of this rowe are) layen in danger of (our) lives; for the chamber that is fallen seem'd to us as strong as any standing, and was not only the repository of the Dr's dearest jewell (the child) but the place of their winter evening conversation. And after such a breach the remaining part (though never soe strong before) can't be perfectly secure. Blessed bee God for this or any other deliverance vouchsafed to mee or any other of his poore servants, and make us all (in con-

sideration of his goodnesse) zealous of our great Presevor's honour. God blesse you all.

"I am my dearest Brother,

"Your most affectionate,

"D. GRENVILLE.

"I sent out into the Colledge, especially to Bishopp Carleton's, whose house is very infirme, to give them notice. And I wish that all that have weake houses would yet leveam; the wind (methinks) being not yet alleyed.

"I think it were not amisse that my man John saw this sermon. It might save me the labour of another. For hee shall have his share.

"For Isaac Basire Esq. These."

Indorsed, "Bro Grenville's pious Letter after y^e^ fall of "D^r^ Brev^ts^ House Decemb 1674."

CHAPTER V.

It would appear that one of Granville's most pressing creditors was the same Dr. Davies who had been his curate from the first, and with whom he had lived on terms of the closest intimacy and friendship. He was, apparently, a man of some private means, and soon after Granville's pecuniary troubles began to press him, and he was "like a poor helpless dove among hauks ready to be devoured," as he quaintly puts it, he borrowed a friendly loan from Davies, in the expectation of being able to repay it as soon as he obtained the eagerly looked-for marriage portion, as well as of being in a position to procure some preferment for his friend; and when, in 1667, he resigned the living of Elwick for Sedgefield, he endeavoured to persuade the Bishop to bestow Elwick on Davies, but without success; whereupon Granville foolishly entered into a fresh agreement, by which he bound himself to continue Davies as his curate, at a stipend of £250 a year (inclusive of the interest on the loan) until he obtained preferment of the value of at least £180 a year. Meanwhile, as we have seen, his money affairs advanced from bad to worse, and he and his wife were compelled to live abroad on £200 a year, while Dr. Davies and his wife were comfortably settled in at Sedgefield Rectory, with the stipend of £250 a year in addition to their private means. After paying this money for seven years, Granville realized that Davies had been repaid the loan over and over again, and, accordingly, reduced his stipend to £100. This led to a bitter quarrel between the two friends, and Dr. Davies threatened to take legal

proceedings. What the end of it was does not appear from the correspondence, but as Davies's name does not appear amongst the creditors later on, Granville was, perhaps, able to pay him off.

The following is an unfinished statement of the circumstances referred to:—

"1st. I was in great distresse having not one familiar friend then, on whom I could rely in this strange Country, all my owne relations were in y^e^ remotest part of England; and y^e^ Bishop of Durham, Sir Gilbert Gerard and my Lady, (noe inconsiderable antagonists) and all their creatures were then become my bitter enemies, and I, like a poor helplesse dove, among soe many hauks, ready to bee devoured; soe that I, rather than disoblige my friend, who was qualified to beard any man in y^e^ Country, was willing to doe any reasonable thing within my power to secure him, which I fancied this was, because hee told mee soe, of whose infallability I was not then soe jealous as I am at present.

"2nd. I alwaies flattered my self (and surely a man in my circumstances had some temptations soe to doe) that I should speedily bee out of debt, and then I should have as much ability as will to gratifie y^e^ Dr. to y^e^ vtmost of his expectacion, and then it would have been noe impossible thing for mee to have done all this for such a friend as had actually suffered for mee, and lost y^e^ Bishop of Durham's favour and hope of preferment, for which I was willing, out of generosity, to make some amends in an unusuall manner, above y^e^ capacity of y^e^ vulgar.

"3ly. I thought that Dr. Davies was soe precisely a conscientious and reasonable man, and soe true a friend, according to my owne notion of friendship (which was a little rare in y^e^ world) as that hee would have taken noe such unreasonable advantage of mee, before I had

weathered the storme of my debts, as to have lived splendidly while I was in a low condition, but to have let all but a competency gone in arrear till I was master of my fortune, as generosity did oblige him, which if hee had done, wee had never quarrelled as wee now doe, to y^e^ scandall of all that know us. God forgive us both our miscarriages, and informe us both of our errours speedily, that there may bee a christian composure of our unhappy controversie, there being not y^e^ like in y^e^ nation I think, between such intimate friends.

" 4thly. I thought a man of parts and sobriety, and soe deserving as Dr. Davies, could never want preferment any long time, wee having soe many considerable friends, who might deserve from y^e^ Church; I confesse if hee had had y^e^ luck to have been my Lord of Bathe's Brother and y^e^ Bishop of Durham's Son in law three hundred pounds a year as well as I a thousand.

" 5thly. I thought that if it should soe fall out, that if I should bee Parson of Sedgfield before I was out of debt, and under an obligation to part with Elwick, I should have been able by y^e^ assistance of my relations to have secured it for Dr. Davies, since I was under an ingagement to give him a hundred pounds a year in liew of it; and God forgive my friends that they suffered Sir Gilbert Gerard to vndermine us in y^t^ concerne, which was near a thousand pounds out of my way.

" But it did unexpectedly fall out (which I thought would never have come to passe) that I was Parson of Sedgfield within two yeares after (or thereabouts), and that I was forced to resigne up Elwick to my Lord of Durham, being not able to secure it for Dr. Davies, the Dr. still wanting preferment, and I being plunged in double as much debt as I was before; insomuch that I was at y^e^ Dr's mercy, who

proved a lesse mercifull man and kind friend, than I hoped to have found him; for hee held mee rigourously to y^e^ very letter of my paper. I disputed it a while with him, but being a much worse disputant than hee, (tho' I hope an honest man) yielded again to y^e^ Dr., who was too strong for mee, and coming to a new composition for *two hundred and fifty pounds per annum* til he was provided of preferment to y^e^ value of *nine score pounds* per annum, as it appeares by a memorandum under my owne hand and seale dated y^e^ ninth day of March 67. This I continued to y^e^ Dr. to my extraordinary hindrance, till y^e^ year 74, notwithstanding my debts and troubles that had almost *broken* my *back* and *brain*; insomuch y^t^ I was forced to fly out of England for some yeares quiet and repose, without which I had infallibly been not only a bankrupt, but a dead man. Having often and seriously consulted y^e^ point between God and mine owne soul (during my solitude and retirement abroad), I was convinced that I ought to bee my owne Chancellour; being not obliged, I thought, in such a case to keep my word to my owne ruine, and accordingly [re]trenched him a *hundred and fifty pounds a year*, allowing [him] but an hundred, which I did zealously contend to [con]tinue to him against all my relations, to y^e^ hazard of loosing their favour, which was a better condition for him and his Lady, than I and my wife were in, for hee, noe more than others, would consent, that I, and my family, ought to spend more than *two hundred pounds a year*.

"All that I drove at herein was, to lick my selfe whole, by honest, honourable, and friendly meanes, that I might bee capacitated to pay my debts; having been egregiously imposed upon as I conceived, by y^e^ Dr's. *hardhandednesse and my owne easy nature*. If I had been ever out of debt I alwaies did resolve to make satisfaction as farr as justice

and religion could require; but till I was soe I thought justice and religion did require y^e^ Dr. to have suffered with mee, since hee had expectations to have reigned with mee; which it was prudence, as well as generosity in him to have done, as it is now in my present Agent, Mr. John Basire, to doe, who in this particular I am confident, hath outstript y^e^ Dr., *and soe I may say, as they did of Dr. Maine, 'y^e^ little man has it, y^e^ little man has it.'*[1]

> "Notwithstanding my mirth, if I am in an errour, I pray God convince mee. I meane christianly; and soe, I hope doth y^e^ Dr. tho' all but him selfe (or such to whom hee makes the relation, without hearing my defence) conclude him notoriously out, and vnfriendly in this particular, being blinded by *selfe-loue* and *intrest.*

"To proceed with my relation (from y^e^ yeare seuenty four) of my carriage toward y^e^ Dr., whereof hee soe much complains, in reducing of him to a hundred pound per annum, I can declare to y^e^ whole world, y^t^ it was no sudden rash act in any fit of passion, but one of y^e^ soberest and most deliberate determinacions in my whole life, and as I did conceiue, not onely an act of reason but of religion. For it was of y^e^ first acts I did after my returne out of France, where I had retir'd to free my self from y^e^ disturbances of my past life, (which beganne to bee too mighty for mee to struggle with here at home, and which made mee (as y^e^ Dr. well knowes) an extraordinary object of pity) and to gaine some fredome of thought and deuotion to

[1] On this hangs a story.

qualifie mee for a more serious inspection into . . .[1] and thorough examinacion of my past designs and actions . . .[1] personally my ill husbandry in y^e^ bad management of my . . .[1] did not proue altogether unsuccessfull, for blessed bee God I did so far improue my solitude by weeding, watering and warming both my head and heart, that I had brought forth some better fruits of religion y^n^ I had euer formerly discoured to y^e^ world, whereby I had obtain'd a clearer light in my understanding, both to judge of my past, and to guide mee in my future actions. I was not ouer forward to haue this good opinion of my self, (hauing alwayes runne into y^e^ quite contrary extreme) as has been notorious to all that knowe mee) but my best and wisest friends to whom I did unbosome my self (after there grew some coolnesse and strangenesse between mee and y^e^ Dr.), did confidently tell mee soe, and laboured to convince mee of y^e^ reallity thereof, stirring mee up to some more considerable undertakings y^n^ euer I had before attempted. And y^e^ first step thereto was to set my revenue into a better order towards a deliuerance out of a miserable indebted condicion, which was then almost grown desperate, into which I had been plung'd by a *carelesnesse of my secular affairs*, a *naturall auersion to businesse* of y^e^ world, and *indiscreet open handednesse* to all with whom I had to doe, and an *excessiue kind nature* to all my acquaintance and friends, which had made mee for many yeares together a prey to those which were about mee: and y^e^ onely expedient y^t^ was left mee to pay my debts, was to contract all my expences y^t^ were not of absolute necessity; and I begunne first with my self, leauing it in y^e^ power of my friends to stint mee, which they did accordingly, confining

[1] Blot in MS.

mee, my wife and family *to two hundred pound a yeare*, to which I consented, Dr. *Davies being of y^e^ judgment* that I ought soe to doe. In y^e^ second place I proceeded to retrench Dr. Davies, which I thought I ought to doe aboue all others that did then depend upon mee, because hee could best bear it, and had by that time gained *more by my friendship than any*, or all my friends in England, for I am sure hee will not deny hee had receiued by y^t^ time out of my reuenue, (notwithstanding I had been alwayes opprest with debt) *aboue four and twenty hundred pounds in twelue yeares time for assisting mee in my Cure and managing my affairs, besides very considerable aduantages accruing unto him* by our great familiarity and intimate exercise of friendship. As for example while *I was a house keeper hee had* . . . [1] fac totum, and had as much command as my self ouer all things and persons y^t^ related to mee (except my wife, I think I may say . . . [1]e) ouer my table, ouer my sellar, ouer my books, ouer my servants, ouer my stable, ouer my purse, nay ouer my self, and ouer my judgment in most things relating to secular management, in so much that I could not haue gone farther, unlesse I would haue been (what y^e^ world thought I was) perfectly led by y^e^ nose, and in all things jurare in verba magistri which I neuer did; for as large a scope as I gaue y^e^ Dr. one way, so far did I oppose him in some other thing, stoutly disputing with him, often about an exact conformity to y^e^ rules of y^e^ Church of England, y^e^ rules of gouerning my parish, and orders of my family.

[The rest is wanting].

1 Blot in MS.

FROM ARCHDEACON GRANVILLE TO DR. DAVIES.

"DR. DAVIES,—After a daye's consideracion, I judge meet to return you this following answer, which I do send you with as calm a spirit as a resolv'd mind, and in the fear of God.

"Really Dr. D. I am convinc'd by this last letter more than ever y^t^ you are deeply guilty of y^t^ temper of mind whereof I have all along accusd you, y^t^ is, in most transactions where your interest is concern'd, you take most unreasonable advantages of your friends.

"I scarce ever have convers'd with you and begun any discourse about our unhappy controversie (whereof you have been the chief author, and which is the shame of your life), but you have wrestled my words some way or other beyond my intention and misconstru'd my carriage.

"If I have been any way reserv'd, you suspected it to proceed from a rude, if not unchristian spirit. If I have been complaisant and condescending (whereto I am by nature rather inclin'd), you do interpret it a coming to your terms, and certainly improve it some way or orther [*sic*] to my prejudice.

"This is y^t^ which has made me often afraid to converse with you, because your nature has ever been too hard for mine. And however blind you yet continue in this matter, it does appear to mee as clear as y^e^ sun. I beseech God in due time to open your eyes to see your defects and miscarriages in the exercise of our friendship.

"As to your present letter and unexpected threat it brings along with it of using the extremity of the law against mee, I answer, that you may, if you please, when you please. I am assur'd that all the equity in the world is on my side, and have some good reason to beleive, as able lawyers tell mee, that your pretentions cannot hold

in law; at least, if you have a mind to attack mee, I will put it to the venture and defend myself as well as I can, but honestly.

"I will consent to no other referance than what I have allready consented to, which I never did, nor will, hinder; but it was never my intention or businesse to promote it, doing it as an act of complyance with you and the advice of Dr. Beveridge, not that I thought I ow'd you one farthing, all things considr'd.

"'Tis very suspicious at this time that my freedom and friendlinesse in unbosoming myself to you has incourag'd you at this time to resume your resolution of going to law, which, to be plain with you, is a high pitch of disingenuity, since that which should have mov'd you to forbearance and compassion, has rather provok'd you unmercifully to fall upon mee.

"But, I pray, consider well what you do, ffor it neither suits with my principles nor temper to suffer myself to be overborn, and I do now assure you that my circumstances will not permitt it; instead of a compliance with such unseasonable violence, it will oblige to a much stouter resistance, and cancell all the remaining obligacions of future consideracions, in case I should live to be a money'd man.

"N.B. It grieves me that I have fresh occasions given me to complain of you and your relations. Sir William Undrell deals most unhansomly with me. I paid him Michaelmas last was twelmonth all his debt, and yet I cannot to this day prevail with him to deliver up his security and acknowledge satisfaction upon the rolle. He pretends the promise of a pair of silver candle-sticks to his lady. But that he should, upon the account of a verball promise of mine to make my lady some time or other so inconsiderable a present, keep my brother Bath and my brother

Granville's bonds and judgements is an unaccountable piece of injustice since my promise had no relacion at all to that debt and the performance whereof ought not to be compell'd among persons who pretend to any gentile education.

"Sir William sayes that it was not a voluntarie of generosity, but in lieu of a cloke I had from Mr. Van Bomell. 'Tis so long ago that I do not remember whether it was so or no. You possibly remember these matters better than I, and if you will affirm to your knowledge that I had such a cloke, I will pay my lady for the same according to the utmost value you can sett upon a mourning cloke. But if my lady be so very exact, I will bate fifty shillings for my brass lamp. If . . ."

[The rest of the letter is wanting].

The Dean of Durham, John Sudbury, was taken ill about Christmas, 1674, and Lord Bath at once took steps to secure that coveted post for his brother in case of his death; this, however, did not occur after all until ten years later. The following letter has reference to the expected vacancy:—

FROM MR. ISAAC BASIRE TO THE EARL OF BATH.

"DURHAM, St. Stephen's Day, '74.

"MY LORD,—The Archdeacon of Durham, being wholly imployed in attending the holy offices at this good time upon both his cures of Sedgfield and Easington, hath desired mee to returne your lordship his particular and very hearty thanks for your late effectuall recommendation of him to the King for a preferment, which, if it shortly happen, will restore him to a condition free from all those

incumbrances wherewith he is at present dogg'd. Haveing the honour of this opportunity to write to your lordship, I cannot omitt the doeing Mr. Archdeacon that comon justice of acquainting your lordship that since his last returne into the north he hath acquitted himselfe of all his undertakings, both in private and publicke concernments, with so great prudence and descreet management that I doe assure your lordship he hath absolutely rectified a great many mistakes and wrong measures which were made of him and his actions. Six severall sermons he preach'd in the Cathedrall in six monthes, for two whereof he happended to be very signall; the one was the Assize-sermon, which hee undertook to performe at two houres warning, and did it with a general applause; the other happended on Sunday last, when a failer in the Bishop of Bristoll's turne, when four of our prebends were present, after hee had sent about a verger to them to know if any of them could undertake that sermon, he ventured into the pulpit, without departing from the Church, till he had done that good worke, to our great surprize. I must in the next place, (craveing your lordships' pardon for my prolixity), certify you that the Archdeacon hath far enough kept himselfe within the limits prescribed him by his relations, touching his revenues, that to my knowledge he hath received but £150 of his new salary for three quarters ending at Candlemass, yet hee hath out of this sum returned to his wife within six monthes neare £80 and payd off £50 old debts designed to bee discharged out of the other revenue. I should not have given your lordship the trouble of this accountt, but that I cannot want so much good nature as to neglect an occasion to doe a person right, who I know hath been severely mis-represented and injured without any colourable grounds, even by some of his

brethren, who dread to see him grow great and envy him for it. Thus assuring your lordship that I shall always bee devoted to the service of your noble family, I humbly take leave to rest, my Lord,

"Your lordship's very faithfull and most humble servant,

"ISAAC BASIRE."

"The Archdeacon wrote a letter of thanks to the Bishop by the last post":—

"My father presents your lordship with his humble service. I was with the Dean last night. He still continues ill, but most infirme of his legg, wherein a swelling draws to a head as bigg, he says, as half an egg's, and he expects it breaking."

The next four years were spent by Archdeacon Granville, so far as we can judge from the letters of this period, in the discharge of his duties at Durham. The following letter to Colonel Blakiston, reproving him for some act of debauchery, is characteristic of Dr. Granville's style. Colonel Blakiston, who was connected by marriage with Mrs. Granville, had been an officer in the service of Charles I., and acted as a Justice of the Peace for the county palatine of Durham. He belonged to the ancient family of Blakiston, of Blakiston, in that county, and afterwards represented the city of Durham in the parliament of 1679-80. In his petition to the Commissioners for a renewal of his lease, he pleads "his owne loyalty and long service to his Majesty, of which he carried markes about him." It would appear from Dr. Granville's letter that he also carried about him some of the less honourable marks of a roystering cavalier.

FROM ARCHDEACON GRANVILLE TO COL. BLAKISTON.

"EASINGTON, *Feb.* 11, 1674 (O.S.)

"MY WORTHIE FREINDE,—As I have received very particular obligations from you, soe I have alwayes had as particular an honor and esteeme for you. And as your kindnesses doe oblige me (in gratitude) to love you, soe I am goeing about in the surest manner to evidence my love. If I am rightly understood you are soe much a gentleman (I will not say Christian—that is an obsolete word out of fashion) as candidly to interpret so good an office as I am now undertaking, at least civily to give mee the heareing. I am not goeing (I doe assure you) *ultra crepidam*, I meane, to medle with you or your concernes, farther than my Cassock doth authorize me. All that I am attempting is to deliver my own soule and conscience, by representing some things (which the best of us cannot but condemne in your conversation) nakedly and faithfully to you. And here I must take my rise from the late irregularity (Feb. 1st) wherein you were (as I am informed) the ringleader. Really if any man in England but Coll Bl: had played such a pranke I would have said it had been scandalous. But though I dare scarce say it to one of his Majestie's Justices Itenerant, I shall with the honest Welchman, (with the good Collonell's leave), pay it with thinking. Nay, presume (with my penne) a little to expostulate the businesse. Hath there not been enough of your past yeares (my noble freind) sacrificed to vanity and folly, but that you must be so sollicitous to give the devill a legacy out of your elder, which should be your wiser and better dayes! Nay, if nothing can content you but that you must needs play the old foole, is it not enough for you to play the sinner among those whoe you have

already (by your ill example) made bad, (or are already by others made so to your hand, a province possibly large enough) but that you must contribute to the undoeing of such whoe are as yet gotten but halfe way to hell, and whoe may be recovered by good examples and faithfull instructions if they have the good luck to escape those which are ill? Nay, my freind, must you intrench on my jurisdiction? I meane pervert such as I professe to take more peculiarly into my charge. Fye upon you; you are an unreasonable man. Sure you have forgott that you have gray hair under your periwigg. You touch my copyhold here (I assure you), and you must not expect to escape scot free. I, poore man, am labouring to draw an honest innocent soule or two (or at least not altogether defiled) out of the snare of the divell, and Coll Bl: wonn't let mee. Though I have left my *sword and belt* (which I had by my side the other day at London) yet I carry alwayes with mee that of the Spirit, and wherewith I shall sometime or other (if you doe not avoid these boyish tricks) mawle you. Doe not provoke mee. I send you this paper as a caution; you have fair play; the next time I discover you are guilty I shall quite confound you. In good truth, my honest bondsman, I intend henceforth to take a little care of your soule. For I see you are noe good keeper, tho' you doe not seem to understand the value of soe great a treasure. If you did, you would not thus squander it away. Expect therefore henceforth a gentle rebuke sometimes, when such misdemeanors come to my eares. For till you are a perfect *swine* I shall not cease to fling my pearles before you. When I judge you are soe I shall leave you to the rest of the herd, and not trouble you with these sollicitations which I intend as a *vade mecum* for you in your London journey. Really (honest Trojan) a little wholsom councell in your

pockett will doe you no disservice. For if you can play the debauched here in your country, in your owne Bishop's castle, among your owne kindred, and they younger men, and at so *unreasonable* an houre as one of the clock at night, I say if you sinne here thus, with these aggravations, in the very sight of the sun, (or of the moon at least), I may shrewdly suspect you to play odd pranks above (as demurely as you carry it in the presence of your mistress), and to take greater liberty there where you will not meet with such interruptions in your career to hell. Farewell, good freind, this shall suffice for the present; but if I doe again discover more of your irregularities I professe I will make affidavit of them before Madame D——. God bless you and make you a better man.

"I am,

"Your faithfull monitor and servant,

"DENIS GRENVILLE.

"Postsc. I thought to have a fling at your swearing (that damned insipid vice) and your bawdy songs, (that cursed profanation of your melodious voice which you would better employ in the entertainment of the chast eares of Madam Dalton with some sonnetts which are savoury and ingenious), but I shall dismisse you now, with an injunction to send mee an account when you sett forth, for I will not faile to provide some letters for my freinds.

"My prose is dulle, duller $\frac{\text{this}}{\text{my}}$ rhime is
"Yet t'will serve for a '*Nequid nimis.*'"

The next letter, addressed to the Bishop of Durham, is undated, but it was probably written in 1675, and has reference to a disturbance that had taken place in Mr. Basire's house.

FROM ARCHDEACON GRANVILLE TO THE BISHOP OF DURHAM.

"My Lord,—Among the crowd of beggars which doe (I suppose) ever persecute your lordship, give me leave (I doe most humbly beseech you) to intrude and begg a loan. Example being like (I am afraid) to make me impudent too in time, but the request I have to make is noe other but that your lordship would bee pleased, out of your great grace and favour, to grant me the liberty of disturbing you with an impertinent letter sometimes, (though noe great affair or businesse should require) to keep my selfe but warme in your lordships memory, and beg a benediction by my pen, being deprived, at this distance, of any more formall addresse. If your lordship doe not finde mee an honest, faithfull, (though a poor and inconsiderable) humble servant and a true hearty lover and honourer of you, lett mee bee eternally branded and proclaimed for as great a villaine as I, or any of my freinds, have been represented by my enimies, whose envy and malice is still rampant against mee and all that owne mee, I perceive; as by many peevish, indirect, meane, courses they take to asperse mee and those that love mee, is apparrent, soe more particularly by their late malitious impudence of disturbing even your lordshipp (as I heare) with a notorious untruth concerning my brother-in-law, (and faithful champion in our late contest) Mr. Isaak Basire. In good truth (my lord), since these spleenatick people have defiled your lordshipp's eares with such a dirty and ridiculous story, I shall presume to take away their imployment and bee your informer (but a more faithfull one) how it was. You may bee pleased then to understand (my lord) that his Majestie hath a notorious sott to his train-

band captain, and your lordship to your prothonotary, pardon my boldnesse, called Wright, whoe having gotten his noddle as full of drinke as his heart with folly and mallice (to my brother and our worthy Chancellour Ireland, for zealously asserting my cause), and having received some false intelligence from his correspondents Stapilton and Neile, concerning our hearing before the King and Counsell, 7ber 4th, could not satisfy him selfe with crying in the very streets that his patrons where come off with flying colours, but rudely and impudently thrust him selfe into their chamber to affront them and hector them with insolent language and reproaches for having owned mee and my odious causes; insomuch that after some civill entreaties to depart their roome, (his carriage and language being intollerable) my brother-in-law takes him by the shoulder to turne him out of doores, and this Wright, being highly distempered, had not strength enough to endure a small thrust, but falls downe on the floor, without receiving any harme, or undergoing any other violence. And here (my lord) is the truth (as I am informed) of that famous counterscuffle which hath had the honour to reach your lordship. To speake my thoughts (my lord, by your lordship's favour) Mr. Basire seemed to mee too mercifull in contenting him selfe with discharging his chamber of a beast. I would have made bold to have housled the stocks with one of his Majesties drunken captains, as he and his cronees had the jaole with one of his Majesties chaplaines. In good earnest, my lord, this punishment had been calculated well enough for the meridian of the creature, whoe (as I am told) fell downe in the streets afterwards without force, to the greate scandall of people and his employments. And now I thinke your lordship more damnified by these impertinent and ridiculous stories than

the Captain was by the Justice, Mr. Basire, whose asserting my interest, (which he had done very handsomly) is one of his greatest accusations.

"But to conclude; if I can clear him, yet I cannot cleare myselfe of somewhat of impudence in thus assaulting your lordshipps patience, for the which I humbly begg pardon and rest,

"my lord,

"Your lordshipp's most obedient humble servant

"DENIS GRENVILLE."

The heads of two Visitation Charges delivered in 1675, show us the Archdeacon zealously stirring up his clergy to reform both themselves and their people. "A cure of soules," he writes, "is not the looking on our flock once a week out of a pulpit." A diligent and pious care must be exercised out of church as well, if there is to be a faithfull discharge of duty. "A lovely song doth not allwayes affect the heart, and the hanging up of the bottle in the sight of the sheep is not sufficient for cure." He then goes on to complain of "some grosse flawes in the conversation of some clergymen, which evidences a great deficiency in that holinesse which is essentially necessary to make us good Priests." Many were making their persons and callings too cheap and contemptible, thus oftentimes invalidating their ministry "by meane conversations etc. at feasts and the like, without doing or receiving spirituall advantage; by secular and sordid employments etc., the plough and spade being more handled than the Bible; and by unsuitable recreations etc. such as frequenting markets and faires, horse races, hunting." He also complains still more that some "intimately converse with and make

cronees of, the worst sinners of the age (and God knowes those are bad enough), nay sometimes excommunicate persons and downright atheists deserving excommunication etc." "Good God" (he concludes) "that wee whoe weare Christ's livery should thus forgett and mistake ourselves, our Master, and our professions; thus industriously obstruct the worke of the Gospell etc.—preach it down with our tongues when in the pulpit, and labour with our persons to keep it in reputation—a very effectual course to promote atheism. Did we as *Christians* but really mind our obligations, an impudent, prophane, open, scandalous, obstinate offender would be shunned and dreaded by us as a person who had on him a plague sore or leprosy etc.; how much more as *Ministers* should wee show our indignation and zeale upon such account."

About this time Archdeacon Granville drew up the following interesting observations on the state of the Bishopric of Durham:—

"The Bishoprick of Durham is without dispute the most conformable part of England; for Ministers do generally, when they read service, read it according to their rubrick, which is a very rare thing in other dioceses; but if their conformity be the observation of our Common Prayer Booke, then this countrey is only comparatively conformable, and farr from being really so. For it is certain that most of the chief rubricks (and those which more especially denominate a good Churchman) are scandalously neglected; *e.g.*,

"First in the Cathedral *the weekly Sacrament*, injoined stricktly by our rubrick, is neglected and brought unto a monethly one.

"*The Dayly Prayers*, injoined to be said in all Parish Churches, or at least in the Ministers' family where he

resides, (the offering up of which is the chief badge of a good priest) are not observ'd in more than four places through the whole Diocese.

"*Chatechizing*, injoined on all Sundays and Holy days is restrained by most only to Lent.

"*The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, which is to be administered so many times in every parish that every parishioner may have an opportunity to receive at least three times in the year, is not administered in most places above three or four times in the whole year, which renders it impossible to people soe to doe.

"*Baptism*, which should never be celebrated but on Sundays and Holy days, without some extraordinary motive, is in all places much oftener us'd on the week-days; nay, in very many places, without any necessity, oftener in private houses than in the Church, Ministers incouraging this dangerous irregularity with their unjustifiable compliances, affording the whole Office of Publicke Baptism, calculated only for the Church, to infants baptized in the chamber, where the Church allows nothing but the essential parts of it, not permitting the child to be signed with the sign of the Crosse, to deterre people from desiring it ever but in cases of absolute necessity; and when the children are thus baptized in private places, which is extraordinary frequent, (tho' not so frequent, blessed be God, as in other Dioceses), yet Ministers are notoriously negligent to require the children privately baptized to be brought into the congregation for the certificacion of their Baptism as injoined by the Common Prayer Booke.

"For the *Office of the Visitation of the Sick*, intended by the Church to be used no where but in the presence of the sick man, is a good part of it brought into the congregation.

"And as for *Thanksgiving of Women after Childbirth* (called Churching, because it is to be done no where but in the Church) it is as frequently done in the chamber: which is a direct running counter to the Church's designs and institutions.

"As for *the Observation of the Festivalls* (wherein an essential part of our religion doth consist) they are notoriously prophaned not only by the people, but scandalously neglected or slightly observed (as to the due performance of God's worship on them) by the Priest. Ministers begin, I see, to make very bold with them, and for little despicable temperal conveniences and satisfactions change the customary hours of God's worship, and sometimes wholly lay it aside, at lest in the afternoon, and sometimes upon no better account than that they and their people may go to a horse-race or some such idle sport and divertisement. And as they do generally neglect chatechizings in the afternoons, (as hath been before mentioned, and which contributes very much to the contempt of the days), so they do universally neglect preaching in the forenoon, which the Church seems, both by Canon and Rubrick, to expect as constantly on them as on the Sundays, and which to me seems the only expedient to revive their lost reputation."

The following Lenten Address or Letter of Counsel from Archdeacon Granville to his curates, Mr. Gamul and Mr. Robertson, provides amusing reading, and shows the care he took in seeing that his coadjutors in his livings performed their duties satisfactorily:—

"LOVING BRETHREN,—I seldom let a whole Lent slip without giving everyone of those that nearly depend on

mee some ghostly counsell and advice, or admonition and reproof, (when occasion requires), and I could not bee lesse kind to my Curates, whom I owne my brethren, than I am to my menial servants, neglecting their soules who are under an obligation to take care of all the soules in my parish; and now having secured you both together it will be very commodious for mee to betake myselfe to such a spiritual application. All my Curates have been, I thank God, (I meane the priests) exemplary in their lives and discharge of their office in comparision of other Curates: I will alwaies bee soe just to them as to acknowledge it. But on the other side I must bee soe just to myselfe and flocks as to affirme that they have none of them been ever soe exemplary as I did expect at their hands, and as I veryly believe in my conscience they ought to have been. 'Tis possible some may bee apt enough to thinke, and by chance say, that the Archdeacon has not been soe himselfe. I confesse it is true, but that is not under any of their cognizance, and therefore they must let that alone in the dispute. The Archdeacon, for his part, does resolve, and will take care, by the grace of God, to bee more exemplary both in his life and office, and particularly in governing and managing his Curates; and if they will resolve and indeavour to doe the same in their respective places, our quarrell will bee at an end, otherwaies it may last a great while, for I have some things against everyone that is or hath been my Curate.

"1. I begin first with Mr. Hill, my curate at Kilkhampton in Cornwall, whom I tooke from a poor despicable living of 30^{li} a year, and established him my Curate there in that parish, giving him four score pound per annum, paid him quarterly by hand. I acknowledge hee was an able

man and an excellent preacher, and very little faulty in his life; but hee did not prove true and trusty in his charge, losing much ground in my absence, and particularly to comply with the place and people, soe as to officiate without a surplice, which officiousnesse of his to please the dow-baked people of that country, ended towards mee in notorious ingratitude. I shall let alone the history thereof, tho' hee deserves very well to have it published.

"2. The second Curate whom I imployed was Dr. Davies, who may very properly bee ranked next to Mr. Hill, because hee hath made the same exit. I cannot but acknowledge Dr. Davies likewise a man of considerable parts and abilities, and very free from the vices of the age, being a person of great temperance and sobriety, but was very faulty in not coming up to my established rules and method, which often fell to the ground through his negligence, and had much oftener, had not I sometimes undertaken more than was reasonable for mee, doing on surprise and without preparation those duties oftentimes which were incumbent upon himselfe, rather than they should be wholly neglected. And his not keeping pace with mee in his zeale for our Common Prayer-booke, (tho' he absolutely refused nothing, and most commonly did everything required) was of very ill consequence in the Parish, and I feele it at this present day. How much the Dr. abused my kind nature in other matters, as well as those relating to his office, I shall not particularize here, nor proclaim ever more than shall be necessary for my justification. Wee were long intimate and bosom friends before wee had the relacion to one another as Parson and Curate, and the name of friendship is soe sacred that I am willing to bury in silence Dr. Davies' great miscarriages towards and bad requitalls of mee.

"3. The third person whom I imployed (but was soe short awhile with mee I can scarce stile him my Curate) was Mr. Josias Dockery, now Dr. Dockery, who never gave mee sufficient incouragement and satisfaction to get the Bishop's license for him to serve the Cure. All that I will say of him is, that he seemed to mee to bee a man not well tuned up to his Common Prayer-book (tho' hee offered to conforme in all things) but was too rough-hewen, mee thought, to bee a priest.

"4. The fourth Curate was Mr. Hammond Beaumont, who being educated in a very orderly colledge, St. Peter's, gave mee very good satisfaction, having, as appeared to mee, a better notion of, and a greater love for and conformity to his Common Prayer-booke than Dr. Davies or either of the former, who seemed to doe things rather out of a complyance with mee and the circumstances they were in, than out of love to the thing itselfe. Mr. Beaumont, I cannot deny, hath done mee considerable service, both in reference to my parishes and otherwise, and doth deserve very well from mee, but yet never came up to my rule and expectations, and soe must not pretend to soe large a reward (tho' hee may probably meet with a large one) as if hee had done it. The liberty which hee tooke in many and long journeys from his cure without my consent, was unjustifiable, and did very much disrelish with mee, tho' I did not alwaies plainly speake my mind. His not observing in my absence the same order which I did when I was present, was very displeasing to mee, and very injurious to my flocks. And more particularly his not constantly preaching, or reading a Homily, on Holidaies in the morning; his not constantly catechising or expounding the Catechisme, or discoursing de tempore on Sundaies and

Holidaies in the afternoone; his not discoursing on Wednesdaies and Fridaies in the mornings and Saturday afternoons in Advent and Lent, especially on the Eve before a Sacrament; his not observing my method of personall application on Sundaies and Festivalls in the evening, or not supplying it with an extraordinary application the weeke following; his complaisance sometimes with the rich as to private Baptismes (quite contrary to my method, for if I had complyed with any body, it should have been with the poor), and want of complaisance, I feare, in dexterously visiting the sick, and thinking to supply those defects by bringing in part of that Office into the Church, which is never the lesse irregularity for being practised in some Cathedralls:—his not keeping a curate upon his owne Living, (which was a condition between us when I permitted him to continue my Curate at Sedgfield) to the great offence of the Country as well as disreputacion of the Archdeacon; are things which I confesse doe yet stick by mee, and will very probably stick by his conscience, some time or other, before hee dies: my expectations in reference to these things, still appearing soe reasonable and of soe great importance, that I cannot forbeare to record these irregularities and omissions (tho' I have still a great kindnesse for Mr. Beaumont, and thought him one of the best Curates in the country) least his successors may follow his example, to the hurt of my flock and the great obstruction of the maine and most honest designes of my life and calling. I doe and shall still indeavour to keep up his reputacion for serving my cure among the laity and clergy likewise, that are at a distance from mee and ignorant of his failings; but I cannot avoid cautioning my Curates without great injustice to myselfe and my flock, nor without unkindnesse to themselves, least they dash

upon the same rock, and render themselves uncapable or lesse capable, of my future favour, which I think I may without pride affirme is above the contempt of either them or Mr. Beaumont.

"And now, Brethren, my present coadjutors, having faithfully laid before you what occurres to my mind, displeasing in your predecessors, I doe in the name of God, and by vertue of my office, require you to take these things seriously into consideration, and to beware how you censure for imprudency my honest designes and methods in managing my Parishes and Jurisdiction, (which I dare tell you are above your censure, having been approved by wise and good men above the censure of either you or mee) as those that haue gone before you seeme to haue done by their non-complyance, who will, I fear, hereafter suffer thereby more than myselfe in their reputacion. I give faire warning (and you come in a better time into my imployment than they who bore the brunt and heat of the day) if you will expect hereafter a full reward, you must doe full duty; and if you hope to bee preferred, according to the utmost of my power, you must bee curates according to mine owne heart, which neither of you nor any of your predecessors haue been. I am very kind to you in this my counsell and advice, especially in this admonition that you do not grow too great opiniators and over conceited of your owne judgment, as Mr. Gamul has proclaimed himselfe oftentimes to bee, and to which vice Mr. Robertson is marching on apace. Consider what I say and the Lord grant you understanding in all things. Praying to our deare Lord and Master, (whose bitter Passion and bloody Death wee this weeke remember) to guide and direct, assist and prosper, counsell and advise, everyone of us in reference

to the things which concerne our and our people's peace and salvation, I rest, your very loving friend and brother, tho' unworthy Visitour,

"DENIS GRENVILLE."

"To Mr. Gamul and Robertson."

Archdeacon Granville certainly practised what he preached to others, and it is impossible to read the following directions for the government of his household without seeing the evident desire which existed that the Parsonage should be a *religious* house, distinguished from all others by the strictness of its discipline and the exactness of its order, the lustre of its good example shining as a sort of beacon light for the direction and guidance of all who dwelt around.

"ORDERS WHICH I REQUIRED TO BE OBSERVED IN MY FAMILY WHEN I WAS AN HOUSE-KEEPER AT MY PARSONAGES IN THE COUNTRY.

"1. That all persons should labour to continue their businesse soe as to bee present at God's service in the Church, as often as possible, not only on publick daies but private ones; never staying at home (any one) but in cases of infirmity; or of some necessary lawful impediment.

"2. That on Sundaies and Holidaies afternoons, Saturday afternoons and Holiday Eves, every person in the family shall goe to Church, shutting up the doors of the house; or if any person stay at home, it shall bee one of the most insignificant persons to watch the house, unlesse there be some extraordinary cause to the contrary, and those that stay take their turnes.

"3. That as soon as the bells of the Church begin to ring or toll, all persons who intend to goe to the Church at that time shall begin to put themselves in readinesse, and wait for mee in the parlour and the hall, that they may all goe forth with mee at the same time (for which purpose there shall be given one toll of my House bell) and accompany mee to the Church, not dropping in one after another after service is begun.

"4. That there shall be in my family alwaies prayers in the morning between six and seven of the clock, when there are noe six a clock prayers in the Church; as alsoe in the evening constantly between 8 and 9. At both which prayers I require all (but strangers) to bee present, unlesse there happen necessary hindrances, which I desire all to strive to prevent, as much as they can, by a prudent foresight, that there may bee noe necessities of their owne making.

"5. That all persons of my family shall carry their Bibles and Common Prayer-books to the Church with them, and use them in the performance of the Service and Lessons.

"6. That when I keep daily labourers in the summer time or have any number of servants imployed without doors, and must goe to their worke abroad before the houre of morning prayers, that they repaire to my house, and have some short prayers in my hall at five of the clock, or at such houre and in such manner as I shall appoint.

"7. That all persons who worke in my gardens about or in my house, or in the Church (upon my account) at any worke that will admit of an interruption, shall goe to the Church prayers with my servants. And to encourage workmen thus to doe, when I agree with them I will give

them some consideration in the bargaine that shall be made with them, unlesse they worke with mee by the day.

"8. That all persons who worke for mee, within or without doors, on Saturday afternoons and Holiday Eves, shall leave of worke by one or 2 of the clock, and come to Church; receiving the whole daies wages, provided they were at three of the clock prayers.

"9. That the servants of my family on Saturdaies and Holiday Eves, doe as much of their worke as possibly they can in the morning, or at least dispatch all before Evening Service, and accompany mee to the Church, as in the foresaid directions.

"10. That my servants imploy what time they gaine on such daies, as alsoe on Sundaies and Holidaies themselves from their necessary imployments, in some religious exercise, as spirituall reading, prayer and meditation, good conference, reading to or instructing some young persons or ignorant neighbours or fellow-servants: I require all persons in my family to bee either teachers or learners.

"11. That in case the worke and imployment of my house bee too much to bee dispatched in the forenoon or before Evening Prayers on such daies, I doe allow of the hiring one two or three women for the spedier dispatch of the same.

"12. That I allow all my domesticks some time every day for private prayer and reading of the Scriptures (nay, doe in the Name of God injoyne every person to imploy some to that purpose) and that every person may have some reasonable time and liberty for devotion, and not be oppressed with too much businesse, I am willing to keep a servant or two more than would be other wise necessary.

"13. There shall bee noe playing at tables or dice in my house all the yeare long, nor any playing at cards,

but between All-Hallow day and Candlemas, provided it bee at seasonable times, and doe not disorder the *devotion, meales* or *businesse* of the family.

" 14. That all persons playing at any game (tho' they are in the middle of a game) shall breake it of and cease their play, soe soon as the bell tolls for prayers, either in Church or Chaple, or as soon as the Butler appears with the things to lay the cloth for dinner or supper.

" 15. There shall be noe playing in my family at any game on the Vigills and other fasting daies of the Church, nor on Fridaies and Saturdaies, (unlesse within the 12 daies of Christmasse) but that what time shall be gained from necessary businesse bee better imployed in devotion, reading, good conference or the like.

" 16. That to the former end and purpose I doe order my cheeseboard, bowles, and all other things relating to such games (as I doe allow) to be locked up on Thursday night till Monday morning, as alsoe on the other daies before mentioned.

" 17. That I allow of noe great game for any considerable summe to bee played in my family, nor indeed of any at all when my poor's-box is forgotten, which I doe recommend more earnestly than my Butlers.

" 18. That at nine of the clock, our family prayers being ended, all persons shall repair to their chambers; and are desired to dismisse the servants soe soon as possible, that they may put the house in order, and goe to their beds near ten of the clock, or by eleven at farthest; unlesse in the 12 daies of Christmas, when I will give some greater liberty, provided they doe not abuse itt and make it a pretence to lye a bed next morning, to the disordering the devotions and businesse of the day following.

" 19. That some servant to whom I shall commit that

care, shall lock up all the out doors when wee goe to our family prayers in the Chappell at night, and give mee an account upon my enquiry of such persons as usually come in and out late; as alsoe bring up the keyes to mee into my chamber, speedily after nine of the clock, as alsoe come for them at five a clock in the winter and about four in the summer.

"20. That my House bell shall be rung every morning, at five in the winter and about four in the summer, to awaken my family and alarume my servants to arise, and to give opportunity and incouragement to early risers who are alwaies the most welcome persons to my family.

"21. That my House bell shall be rung at 12 of the clock for dinner and between 6 and 7 for supper.

"22. That when notice is given of my family prayers on Sundaies and Holidaies in the morning, and other daies when there are noe six a clock prayers at Church, my House bell shall be only tolled and not rung out.

"23. That all dinners in my family bee ordinarily ended both in hall and parlour, by an halfe hour after one on working daies, and by two at farthest on Sundaies and festivalls, and suppers by 8 of the clock at furthest.

"24. That there shall be no suppers on Saturday nights and Holiday Eves, nor throughout all Lent (but on Sundaies and Holidaies), and where is occasion for any to eat or drinke at such times, that it shall be done with as little solemnity or formality as possible, without laying of any cloth in the parlour or hall, only spreading of a napkin by the by, and spending noe more time than is absolutely necessary on such accounts.

"25. That there shall be no dinners on Wednesdaies and Fridaies in Lent.

"26. That there shall be no dinners on Wednesdaies, Fridaies and Saturdaies in Ember-weeks, nor on Rogation daies, and when there doth happen any extraordinary occasion, (to be approved of by my selfe) for any set dinner on any of those daies, that there be no set supper.

"27. That on fasting daies when there are no dinners, our supper or meale shall be at five at furthest, and then but a sparing one.

"28. That on all Church fasting daies and daies of abstinence there shall bee noe flesh eaten in my family but by aged, sick, or sickly people, whose health will not permit them to forbear it, and before any of my domesticks take such liberty, I require them to take my approbacion.

"29. That when there is a necessity for some flesh on such daies, that it bee no more than seems necessary.

"30. That brewing, baking, and washing, and such like imployments bee performed alwayes in the beginning of the week, and not deferred longer than Thursday, except there bee some extraordinary occasion for the same.

"31. That the Ember-weeks especially, when any Holyday falls in the same, bee exempted, if possible, from the aforesaid imployments, or as many of them as the necessity of the affaires of the family will permit.

"32. That if there should bee any extraordinary reason for the doing these or any other works in the night after the usuall hours of bed-time, that they do (in due time) signify the same to myself, (when I am present in the family) for my approbacion, or (in my absence) to the person whom I appoint to bee the Governour of my family."

"ORDERS FOR THE OBSERVATION OF LENT.

"1. That all the Sundaies throughout Lent shall be flesh-dayes, only the second course shall be lesse, and sometimes none at all.

"2dly. On Mundaies, Wednesdaies, and Fridaies there shall be observed the same order that we kept last year, in having no formal meal, till after Evening Prayer.

"3dly. On Tuesdaies and Thursdayes there shall alwaies be one dish of flesh for those whose necessities require it, at my own table in the parlour, and a piece of beef or some other dish, in the hall.

"4ly. That none who cannot eat fish may be necessitated to break Lent by eating flesh, there shall be variety of other things provided, in readinesse, when they shall be called for, as milk, eggs, rice, pease, and apples, besides butter and cheese etc.

"5ly. When there is a dinner in the family at noon, the servants shall have nothing for their supper but bread and beer, or bread and milk.

"I desire to be informed of those who cannot eat fish, who shall be dispensed with, if I approve their reasons.

"I shall allow of no contempt of my orders.

"All shall abstain from flesh who haue been admitted to the Sacrament, unlesse they have reason for the same."

The foregoing paper, with its graphic and life-like details, reads almost like a passage out of Izaak Walton's "Lives," and gives us an exact picture of daily life at a "Parsonage in the country" in the latter part of the seventeenth century. To it must now be added two other papers referring to the duties expected by Archdeacon Granville of his nephew (a younger son of his sister, Lady Higgons), who lived with him as his secretary.

"DUTIES EXPECTED FROM A COMPLETE AMANUENSIS.

"1st. Constantly to attend my person, unlesse I dispense with him, for the dispatch of businesse.

"2ndly. To carry alwaies about with him such things as are necessary for a Scribe, fit for my owne use, and to give me assistance whensoever I shall occasionally call for it.

"3dly. To be alwaies within my call; especially early in the morning betwixt 5 and 6, and late at night, betwixt 9 and 10, while I am undressing, to write for me, or read to me, and to give me any other assistance that I shall need in the absence of others.

"4ly. Methodically to digest all my papers, letters, and manuscripts which I commit to his charge in my office or elsewhere, with proper inscriptions, so as to repair to them, whensoever there shall be occasion.

"5ly. To call or send for my letters on post dayes, as soon as possible after their arrival, and to bring them to me, wheresoever I am, attending by me while I am reading them, unlesse I see it convenient and give him some intimacion to depart.

"6ly. To receive my letters after I have fully considered them, and tye them up in a distinct bundle till they are answered, and then dispose of them as the nature of them does require.

"7ly. That he makes up his letters in bundles, as much as he can, of one size, alwayes orderly indorsing them with the name, date, and year at least.

"8ly. Whensoever the length or contents of the letter require it, to annylize the same, and to draw up a short scheme of the heads, fit to be answered, on the back of the letter.

"9ly. To consider well from time to time what letters need answer, or other businesses that require dispatch, and to mind me thereof in due season (doing in the mean time what is incumbent upon him) to prevent the losing of the post and other prejudice.

"10ly. To employ himself in entring in to books such matters as I judge worthy thereof, when I have no other commands for him, and when I have, to take care that my younger Scribes do the same, whom I recommend to his counsel and tutelage, to be made fit for businesse and train'd up according to my mind.

"11ly. To have respect unto my library and to prevent any disorder thereof, calling upon my young men and boy which attends my study, to air and cleanse my books, and the chambers; to doe all other matters in due season, which he shall judge necessary to keep my whole appartment in such plight as I desire."

"THE CONVENIENCIES WHICH I PROPOSED TO MY SELF IN MY N[EPHEW] HIS COMPANY.

"1st. The being mostly at my elbow to take of the trouble of such visits and addresses as I could not attend.

"2. The going (upon any intimation) as my Deputy, to visit such persons as I had any obligacion to visit.

"3. The writing not only letters for mee (sometimes in his name, sometimes in my own) to any of my relations, friends or others, but writing downe (upon any sudden motion or call) my thoughts for mee, which should not be proper to bee communicated any body but a confident.

"4. By being neare mee, scaring of those impertinent and importunate people, which are not very apt to disturb mee when they know that there is any body in the way

to give them an answer with somewhat more resolution than I usually doe on a surprize.

" 5. The assisting mee in the examinacion of the Clergy at ordinacions, and in my studyes, whensoever I should summon him thereto.

" 6. The assisting mee alsoe in any sudden temporall affair (which should happen accidently) like to disturb mee, or distract mee, when I had noe other of my Agents by mee to take of such trouble, or when I did neede more Agents than one; but this with due caution, noe further than was consistent with his present experience, capacity or necessary course of study and improvement to which I should direct him.

" 7. The taking of from mee wholy the care of my stable, and bookeing down all the expences; which, by the way, I had some perticular reason to impose on him, since for his sake I bought coach horses, and put mee under necessity of adding a gelding or two to my number.

" 8. The accompanying mee abroad on all occasions, at all times, and in all places (unlesse when I signified my minde to the contrary) to bee ready to assist mee as I should require, and things should present themselves.

" 9. Imbracing all opportunities and meanes of learning experience and knowledge of the state of my affairs and revenues, that I might commit the whole management thereof to him, in case I should bee destitute of other helpe, and that I should judge his genius proper for the same. And because to be thus quallified would bee a thing of tyme, I did expect that he should very much mind the accomplishing of this designe, sticking at noe difficulty that he should meete with in the way leading thereunto.

" 10. That hee should bee zealous for mee behind my back in supporting my reputacion (which hath been sorely

and unjustly wounded); in furthering my honest designes, and maintaining my principles and practices; and wheresoever he should differ from me in judgment, remaining, as modesty required him, silent, without the least censure of or reflection on his Uncle or Godfather.

"11. That hee should bee more exemplary than ever any body yet was (who hath been yet about mee) in conforming to all my known rules (written or unwritten) relating to my Church, Study, or Family.

"12. Lastly, in a word, since I treated him with so much love, and intended him the kindnesse of a father, that hee should carry himself, according to the will of his parents (N.B.) with the humility, respect, and obedience of a child. Unlesse where I did voluntarily dispense with the same, than which noe man hath been, or is, more apt to doe than my self.

"Finis."

But alas! perfection was not to be found in his nephew, and many of the aforesaid "conveniences," which the Archdeacon had proposed to himself in his nephew's company, were doomed to disappointment, as the following paper proves:—

"Such things as I have observed from time to time displeasing to me in my nephew's deportment.

"1. Too much fondnesse of his owne judgment (nay his own humour) sometimes, in some things discovered by his arguing for (or against) some things that would not beare dispute; or at least ought not to bee disputed with mee.

"2. Too much warinesse in transacting of some secular affaires (upon pretence of prudentially proceeding) and

scrupling at some things, which I never met with any man that did boggle at but himselfe.

"3. Playing at cards with young people in my chamber at prayer time, notwithstanding I declared myselfe aganist itt.

"4. Some little kind of affectation of gravity in his deportment sometimes, above his *age*, *parts*, or *piety*.

"5. Shewing unwillingnesse to goe to visit my surrogate Mr. Davison, when I deputed him for itt.

"6. Downright denying mee, when I ordered him to goe to visit Mrs. Cartwright.

"7. Shewing himselfe over tender of reproofe, tho' it bee but insinuated by way of drollery.

"8. Refusing, out of humour, to goe with mee to visit the ladies at Bedall, when I declared my willingnesse to have him goe with mee.

"9. Too exceptious and capricious sometimes.

"10. Taking too much liberty to reply pertly, when I doe (after my way) give him a merry rebuke.

"11. Staying at home one Holy day at my house with Mr. Beaumont from prayers, playing at cards in time of service.

"12. Staying at home the 8th of November from Morning Service merely to write letters, when hee had leasure to play at cards the night before twoe or three houres, and to lye abed in the morning three or foure.

"13. Presuming to doe the same on St. Andrewe's Day, after I had declared my dislike.

"14. Staying at home the fourth Sunday in Advent from Evening Prayers, without giving any sufficient reason for the same; saying hee could satisfye his conscience well enough; when I told him hee did what would not satisfye mine.

"15. Penning down in August a very presumptious and bold reply etc.

"16. Expectation of more than his due from my servants and from my selfe.

"17. Stoutnesse, expressed to the life, in his reply to my accusation before Isaac Basire in my study.

"18. More of the same temper expressed in his reply to mee another time before Isaac, in my owne chamber at Durham.

"19. A notable instance more on the 30th of Jan: in my chamber at Easington, when I writ downe questions.

"20. Being overtaken with drinke visibly, first at Worcester, when I came from Mr. Bull's Oct. '79; 2d time at Mr. Cocks, from whence he came to Dr. Brevints, and discovered it by his over brisknesse, forwardnesse, and opposition of Dr. Brevint beyond the bounds of modesty; 3d time on the 14 of February 1680/1 at Mr. Staggs, when I procured the warrant against Midford, which discovered itselfe by his deportment before the Deane, and afterwards grossely in my owne chamber when I came in to go to bed."

The following is the spirited vindication of himself by young Higgons referred to in the fifteenth of these complaints. The original paper in the Bodleian is much stained in places and some words are illegible, but the answer to the querulous uncle is too amusing and clever to be omitted.

"Sedgefield.

"SIR, y^e^ high veneration I ever had for your person, as wel as your singular piety, was y^e^ sole motive y^t^ made me undertake this Northern journy immediately after y^e^ receipt of [your] summons, may be safely credited by all

y^t^ are but rightly inform'd, y^t^ I was at y^t^ time so wel *acquainted* with *your circumstances* as y^t^ I coud not be thought so vain as to pro[mise] myself the *greatnes* of a *present fortune*, y^e^ truth [and] undeniable sincerity of all which, will more clearly appear to yo if yo will give me leave to repeat what [ ] in y^e^ coach when yo brought me first to this place, which was this; that it never had (and I woud be watchfull y^t^ it never shoud) enter into my thoughts to drain your pockets, but shoud be extreamly satisfied if my contemptible abilitys might any way be instrumental in y^e^ filling them.

"Y^t^ preferments coud not be y^e^ loadstones y^t^ drew me here, for I did not then understand the nature of them, according to y^e^ maxime, ignoti nulla Cupido, and what great prospects coud I brisk my self up with from your letter, when yo remember yo thought fit (for a reason to yourself and me known) to cast a thick vaile over it.

"I venture to say 'tis near demonstrated then, y^t^ neither *present advantages* nor *future hopes* were y^e^ pleasing basis y^t^ allur'd me hither.

"As I shall be willing on all occasions to owne your sending for me a voluntary act of such extraordinary kindnes, as is peculiar to yourself alone; so I am a little zealous to have it taken into your consideration, whether my ready comeing to yo was not y^e^ purest and greatest instance of duty and obedience I was then capable of expressing.

"If there has been a change in my deportment of late, it bears date from y^e^ change of yours to me; and coud it be expected y^t^ I coud remayn unchangeable when yo yourself were first changeable?

"Since yo have been pleas'd to pass a censure on my external behaviour, give me leave to represent faithfully to yo how my will and affections stood all this while, since

they do not fall under your cognisance, but are best and only known to myself. Be pleas'd to accept then of this short but true account that both my will and affections have been entirely bent to serve yo, dureing all this time I have been under a [ ].

" In y^e^ middle of y^e^ paper, I am accus'd of 2 extreams over-officiousnes and backwardnes.

" Was not y^e^ great sence of my duty and y^e^ hearty affection I have for yo, y^e^ sole efficient causes of this my over-officiousnes? so y^t^ if yo blame me for it y'll blame me like wise even for too warm a sence of my duty and excess in good nature. It seems all the while I [thought] I was doing my duty, I was displeasing yo. But what pity it is y^t^ wee y^t^ will not allow of works of superarrogation in religion, will neither admit of them in civility.

" As for y^e^ other extream, I desire there may be an instance given of it.

" I hasten now to y^e^ fair stateing of those 3 or 4 things which are matter of fact, and which are objected against me.

" 1. The first is my playing at cards in your chamber during Divine Service etc. I shall lay y^e^ circumstances of y^t^ action before yo, and so humbly tender y^e^ consideration of y^e^ whole to your second thoughts.

" Shall not my once, nay twice desireing them to leave off playing, if not wholly blot out of your memory, yet at least extenuate my crime? Did I not in y^t^ goe very far for a Layman, nay what is more, a young man? Was not my acquaintance with those Ladys (especially one) so fresh and new, y^t^ I coud not in modesty and good breeding press it farther? I humbly beg yo to permitt me to speak my thoughts upon y^e^ whole, which is this, y^t^ ther was as great, if not a greater, obligation upon yo (your self being a Minister and acquainted with y^e^ Ladys) to have taken

away our cards from us, and so sent us away to prayer, then upon me rudely, to controul them.

"2. Secondly my staying from Church on som Festivals to write letters. Did I ever stay above one? 'Tis plain y^t^ I do not approve of y^e^ practice, for y^t^ I have been guilty of no such thing a second time. Can these poor simple acts before they are improv'd into wicked habits, appear so considerable to yo, as deserve booking down, and fileing, as if they were so many standing records of my indevotion and impiety. [ ] that for my so refuseing, I woud have humbly offerred yo this other reason which I tender yo now. Yo very wel know, Sir yo have been often pleas'd to carry me to several places and into several companys, where and amongst whome I have sometimes been a weak assistant (I can even dare to say a willing one) in y^e^ management of your affairs. I have a great deal of *moral certainty* on my side; y^t^ these people judge me to have been privy to what ever has been acted since my comeing here; and can wee suppose y^t^ if any of them shoud see my hand, to his judgement, or any other writeing relateing to yo, they woud not be of opinion y^t^ I had consented upon my viewing to poss as an instrument safe and unprejudicial to yo. If y^e^ judgement proves otherwise, and I had sign'd it without reading it first, might not these aforesaid persons notwithstanding y^t^ very rationally pronounce me either an ignoramus or a knave. An ignoramus in signing what I was not a competent judge of, to know whether it made for your interest or not, if I did know it, I was a gross knave in doing on't.

"Now haveing carefully and impartially scann'd my deportment in this action, and imparted to yo y^e^ sole motive y^t^ set me upon this; I beseech yo tel me Sir, what is become

of y^e^ too great liberty suppos'd to be assum'd by one y^t^ is both your n[ephew] and G[odson]?

"What else can more probably, I wish greater ground, be assigned for y^e^ cause of my refuseing, then y^e^ *hearty regard*, I always bear to your person, to your interest? Coud I propose any thing of private advantage to myself in't. Nay, I did bid very fair at y^t^ time to incurr my *obliedgeing Cosin's* displeasure against me; for might he not (had he not had a good share of sence and goodnes) misconstrued my so refuseing, a mistrusting of his *righteous dealing* with yo.

"Supposeing this action had been don bumpkinly, yet as long as what I stood for proceeded from an uncorrupted principle of affection to yo, and yours, I think it might have *merited* its owne *pardon.*

"Either your judgement made for your interest or against it; if for, it cood not imagine why yo shoud be then shy to show it me, if against, y^t^ yo woud make me aiding and assisting to what was design'd so.

"There is one thing much resembles this, and therefor I shall mention it here, and y^t^ was my waveing to signe at first Dorell's Bond, because I often had declared there was no necessity of sending him any, and Mr. Spearman was of y^e^ same opinion if yo remember.

"I did not unhandsomely argue it with yo, nor disswade any from doing on't, but only had deliver'd my owne soul, by a fresh recommending y^e^ affair to your thoughts before I was too late, and told yo withall y^t^ if yo continued your resolution, I woud be dutifull in signeing.

"As for y^e^ 10th I have not met with any y^t^ have [ ] principles or practises, and if they had, shoud they have had y^e^ least countenance or approbation from me, as for y^e^ other part of [ ] cautionary one more especially,

'tis but y^e^ sence of what I had imprinted in me, ever since I knew yo.

"To y^e^ 12th. Did I not y^e^ whole summer constantly frequent praiers in y^e^ Church and your family? Is there any thing y^t^ can be brought against me y^t^ looks like a wilfull contempe of y^e^ rules of your study or family, but becaus these are somethings objected against me in in reference to y^e^ Church and your family in y^e^ paper thoughts, I shall defend [ ] anything in particular til I come to pursue y^e^ method of y^t^ paper, as I have done to others.

"The last. Are wee to measure y^e^ most vnfeigned duty, y^e^ most intense love, and y^e^ most real respects by y^e^ longest train y^t^ y^e^ fulsom pageantry of ceremonies always carrys with it?

"May not y^e^ *ceremonious* man be *hypocritical*, as wel as *dutifull?*

"What respects and obedience have I wittingly at any time robb'd yo of? To pay y^e^ homage I pay my owne Father, no man is, or shall be more ready then myself, and to y^e^ best of my knowledge I have not paid yo less.

"I must confess I do not all ways stand upon my guard to observe at all times and in all places every punctilio of breeding, nor can I produce y^e^ man y^t^ dos. And if I have bee intent on doing yo substantial services,[1] I hope y^t^ may serve as an excuse, if I have been y^e^ lesse mindfull of y^e^ ceremonious ones."

[1] (i) Marshall's Conference.
(ii) Mr. Beaumont's contract concerning ye building of Sedgefield.

CHAPTER VI.

In the summer of the year 1675, all Sir Bevil Granville's younger children were raised to the rank and precedence of an Earl's children; but increase of rank did not help Dennis Granville in his pecuniary difficulties, and several letters of this period reveal continued money worries, and we again find him borrowing money at a high rate of interest. The strain caused by these embarrassments affected his health. "My prodigality," he writes, "hath been one of my most notorious sins whereby I have offended God; and that I believe hath been the fruit of my vain glory, (the complexional vice of my family) which is a branch of pride, and pride the proper spawn of the devil. This my prodigality hath been the occasion of my debts; my debts of the distraction of my head (in a chief manner), and the distraction of my head a main impediment to a progress in learning and virtue, the want whereof is now the only burden of my soul. Here then I see my greatest and most dangerous disease. But how shall I procure a remedy to cure it? Why, in the Name of God, I will attempt, in honest good earnest, to mortify my pride, this leviathan who hath so long domineered in my soul. I will leave off thinking about lesser mortifications, which have overmuch busied me and consumed my time, and will exercise myself now entirely about this of choicest moment; and if I do, in the strength of my dear Jesus, succeed here, others will follow of course. My vain glory will die, my prodigality will cease, my debts will be paid, my head will be composed, and my heart in better frame,

and I shall become a Christian indeed. This will open a door to as much useful learning as is requisite to enable me to discharge in some tolerable manner the several duties of my respective callings. This then I resolve on, in Thy Name and Strength, O my blessed Saviour, and by Thy gracious assistance will put into execution and prosecute to my last breath."

In this spirit he left England for a long sojourn abroad, leaving his wife behind him in the care of her sister, Mrs. Basire. In one of his papers on the "Mortifications" of his life, he reckons "the necessity of being much from my wife, which, though in reality necessary, and a happinesse as things are, yet considering the opinion and censure of the world and some good folks, is no small mortification." He took with him abroad his youngest sister, Lady Joanna Thornhill and her family. Lady Joanna had married in 1653, as his second wife, Colonel Richard Thornhill, son of Sir Timothy Thornhill, of Ollantegh, in the parish of Wye, Kent. According to the handsome monument erected in after years to her memory in Wye church, "she lived with him in the most entire affection near three years, being in the twenty-second year of her age at the time of his death." But in a letter from Dorothy Osborne to Sir William Temple, a very different account of their connubial felicity is given us. "But in earnest there was one more to be pitied besides us, and that was Colonel Thornhill's wife, as pretty a young woman as I have seen. She is Sir John Grenvil's sister, and has all his good nature with a great deal of beauty and modesty and wit enough. This innocent creature is sacrificed to the veriest beast that ever was. The first day she came hither he intended, it seems, to have come with her, but by the way called in to see an old acquaintance, and bid her go on; but he did not come till

LADY JOANNA THORNHILL.

the next night, and then so drunk he was led immediately to bed, whither she was to follow him when she had supped. I blest myself at her patience, as you may do, that I could find anything to fill up this paper withal. Adieu." After the Restoration, Lady Joanna had been appointed Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Catherine, the consort of Charles II., a post which she filled to the time of the Queen's death in 1709. From a reference in one of Dennis's notes she appears to have quarrelled with her brother, the Earl of Bath, at this time, and so was doubtless glad to obtain leave of absence from the Court, and to accompany Dennis abroad.

Yet this arrangement does not seem to have turned out quite satisfactorily, and there were frequent "ructions" between brother and sister from the very first:—

"'Tis pleasant to observe my sister her carriage towards me. Sometimes she says with her mouth, 'Brother, you have most experience of France,' and by her actions 'but I'll trust to mine own.' 'Brother, you have a great deal of devotion, but I have more; you have a great deal of divinity, brother, but I have more; you are an excellent Churchman, brother, but I am better. Your advice and counsel is very good and prudent, but I'll be governed by mine own head.'

"I have been long disputing with my lady Spirmont[1] for the victory. I see she will not yield. She will be the wiser man. Let her be so. I have long yielded her the wise Divine and more experienced Traveller, and parted with my sword and cassock, but she will have the breeches too. Well, let her take them, provided she leaves me a

[1] Lady Joanna is usually mentioned under this name, why and wherefore is not known.—R.G.

rich White-hall petty-coate. It will make a good altar-cloth when I come to Sedgefield."

Then another paper contains "The chief offences that I have taken in my sister's deportment since coming abroad."

"1. At Paris she discovered by her countenance over much jealousy at my giving in an account.

"2. On the road to Dijon she would trust to her own fifteen days experience rather than to mine, who had lived four years in France; and in matter of fees (about paying a coachman) when I had told her that I had seen it practised elsewhere.

"3. Pinching the poor servants who deserved well from us strangers, and giving too liberally to the fat lazy friars against my advice and cautions to the contrary.

"4. At Lyons her backwardness to go and visit my Lady D after several compliments by my Lady D made to her there as well as at Paris, and my assurance, after tasting her goodness and civility, that she was a very good lady, of a humour very fit for her acquaintance.

"5. Shunning my Lord and my Lady's company on the road as much as possible, whereas it was a very happy providence for her to meet such civil and really obliging people on a road in a strange country, where she herself was but indifferently provided for with either company or conveniences.

"6. Giving me sometimes verbal commendations of my conduct and writing the same to my brother Bernard, but in reality quarrelling with me without any just cause for it on the road often, and contradicting her words by her frequent dissatisfactions.

"7. Beginning to show herself so very fond of her humour in many things, that I began to be backward to

declare my mind fully, and accordingly coming away on Sunday morning from Nismes where, if I could have ruled the roost and dared to have spoken my mind freely, I had advised to have stayed till Monday, 1st to have joined with our brethren the Protestants of France, and 2ndly to have completed a friendship with my Lady D, which would have been very advantageous to us all.

"8. After our arrival at Montpellier, expecting me to have paid for my lodging (contrary to the universal custom) and to have paid her for my *pension* besides, as much or more than others paid for better *pension*, and who had lodgings to boot, which was the occasion of my taking, to my great prejudice, the whole housekeeping to myself to the great sacrifice of time and peace, and my great mortification, though I kept silence and chose it rather than a worse evil.

"9. Increasing in opinionativeness so as to contradict me, and contest in her conversation about the hours and place of our prayers.

"10. Holding a dispute with more heat and confidence than it became her sex about dispensing with a plain rubric, namely, whether I should use the offertory or not at the celebration here in the house.

"11. Advancing to so great a degree of impatience at my arguing a point with her, with as much moderation as I use towards others, that she told me on Saturday night in Advent in her own chamber by the fire, with much heat and some fierceness, that she was sure I did not believe what I said."

Montpellier, where they spent the winter of 1676, was a place that was at that time much in repute for the salubrity and mildness of its climate, and much frequented by con-

sumptive patients. Here they found John Locke, the eminent author of the "Essay on the Human Understanding," who resided there from 1675 to 1679, on account of his asthma, and with whom Granville formed a great friendship, which was continued in after years. Amongst the "Granville Remains" in the Rawlinson Collection in the Bodleian, is a lengthy correspondence between Granville and Locke respecting recreation and the rule of conduct in life. Granville wrote to him on five points, viz., Recreation, Business, Conversation, Study, and the Exercise of Devotion. As regards the first he says, "To divert this temper [of thoughtfulness] with the ordinary recreations which some Christians and divines (nay, I must adde bishops) use, as hunting, shooting, angleing, chesse, cards and tables etc., is dangerous (as I finde) and often hurtfull to my spirit. I have therefor thought it the safest way to quitt these and all such recreations for many yeares togeather, nay, most of my secular businesse too (for the same reason)." Locke sent him three replies to his letters which are given in Locke's "Life," written by Peter, Lord King.

The usual mildness of the winter at Montpellier belied itself that year, and the weather proved "extraordinarily rude; there had not been the like (they said) in 80 years. The snow fell in so great quantity for over 48 hours together that the very weight of the same beat down three or four houses and crushed several people to death, one of which was L'Hospital de Cygne, where "the poor host and his wife were found dead in one another's arms under the rubbish."

Lady Joanna soon tired of Montpellier, and they next moved, very much against her brother's wish, to Aix in Provence. "The inconveniences of living at Aix (which

I always zealously opposed) did ever from the beginning appear to me," he writes, "very many both in respect of soul and body and death.

"1. *In respect of soul.* There were no Protestants except two or three families, and they poor souls trampled on and despised; among whom we found none fit for our conversation.

"2. The Temple was three leagues off from the town, which if she went to there was not a cabaret fit to receive a woman of so weak and delicate a constitution as my sister.

"3. Our own Church of England devotions, to which we were constrained to restrict ourselves, could less satisfactorily and commodiously be performed by our small family, which consists but of five persons (and of these one a child) there being not one in the whole town, or at Montpellier, to join with us to our comfort and great profit.

"4. The private administration of the Sacrament became not only improper but almost unlawful, all the circumstances which we were then in being well and thoroughly considered; as for example not only a great feud, unjustifiable, being then between my sister and my brother, but at times between her and me; as also a very scandalous and vexatious breach and contention of several months standing between our two only servants which we had to communicate with us, besides many arguments for our obligations to the Protestant Church, whose services we had been in France long enough to understand.

"5. We were exposed to many attacks upon and against our Religion, the country being not only extremely bigot, but the city governed by a puissant Cardinal and Parliament (?) the last of which hath been a great persecutor of the Protestant religion.

"6. We were in bad circumstances to resist the smallest

attack, for my power was very small to defend myself, my talent lying not in the way of controversy; which, if it had, I could not have prosecuted it without danger.

"7. In case of death, which was not impossible to have happened to sickly persons, we were exposed to the craft and will of these malicious and superstitious priests, and should no doubt among other applications, have been anointed and have had the wafer thrust into our mouths, when we were not sensible, and report made that we died in the communion of their Church, to the great scandal of the Church of God and drawing away several persons from the Truth, which such a report concerning my sister, if credited, (she being of great reputation in England) would have much contributed to.

"8. The scandal which might ensue by so improper a choice of residence, contrary to the judgment not only of the most knowing in England, but of all our Protestant friends in France, ministers and laics, French and English, physicians and divines; none advising to it but Dr. B the physician of the place, who (although an excellent good man and able physician) no impartial judge or adviser, especially then being a stranger to us."

From Aix, Granville writes to Archbishop Sancroft to congratulate him on his elevation to the primacy, on the death of Sheldon, and in his letter speaks of his employing his time abroad in such studies as would best qualify him for the discharge of his duty after his return to England.

FROM ARCHDEACON GRANVILLE TO ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,—Though I am incapacitated to discharge personally that duty which amongst others I should have very readily paid to your Grace had

I been in England, yet I cannot thinke myselfe soe totally exempted by any distance of place as to omit this kind of presentation of my most humble duty and service; which I hope may suffice to assure your Grace that I joine in those dutifull respects and congratulations which any of my worthy brethren may offer you at home. My brother, who hath obliged mee by the information of his Majestie's kindnesse to the Church in the promotion of your Grace, can alsoe informe you of the reasons of my absence, and how that the King did not only grant mee (upon my coming abroad) his gracious dispensation, but that both of their Majesties were pleased to give mee incouragement from their mouthes to undertake this present journey. I shall not presume to add any thing to your Grace's farther interruption but an assurance that, notwithstanding I am a great many miles distant from my cures, I doe yet, however, soe well remember my duty to God and the Church, as to imploy my time, (as far as my poor brain and body will permit) in the study of the sacred Scriptures and such usefull learning as may best quallifie for the future discharge of my duty, and a good conscience after my returne. Heartily begging your Grace's benediction on my honest designes and poor endeavours, I crave leave to subscribe my selfe

"Your Grace's most obedient and dutyfull
"humble Servant

"D. GRENVILLE.

"Aix in Provence
"*Feb.* 1, 1677/8.

His sojourn abroad seems indeed to have been used by Granville as a time of Retreat in which to repent of the past and resolve for the future. A great number of papers are extant in the Rawlinson Collection, which bear date

both here and at Tour d' Aigues, a small town in Provence, to which he removed, with his sister and her family, the following year. These papers are of a very mixed nature, but his "Flying, broken, and imperfect Thoughts" contain many expressions of remorse for past extravagance and solemn vows to God with reference to future conduct. Here, for instance, are some injunctions, counsels, and cautions, that were given him on Whitsun-Eve, 1678, after confession and absolution.

"1. To renew your practice of the former injunctions of your wise and worthy spirituall guide, given you in England, as far and as soon as your health and circumstances will permit; the omissions whereof, I feare, may have been very prejudicial to your spirituall estate. Soe long an interruption of soe pious and proffitable a course being not to bee excused wholy, tho' it may bee much extenuated by extraordinary impediments, unsettlednesse of condition, and weaknesse of body.

"2. To reade over on the first Sunday of every month, (or the Saturday evening before) till next Michaellmass those papers which I have given you here in France concerning the state of your soule, and to write over the last with your owne hand within the aforesaid limitted time; once writing usually making more impression than divers readings.

"3. To endeavour more heartily to bring your will and humour, (wherein you seem very peccant sometimes) into subjection to your owne understanding, according to the method and ordinance of God, whoe gives us reason chiefly to this end and purpose, namely to rule and governe our stubborne wills and affections, and to distinguish us from beasts."

It is interesting to note that Granville was a strong upholder of the practice of Confession. We find him on more than occasion making mention of his own confessions to Bishop Gunning and others, and of the confessions of others which he was in the custom of hearing; and there is a very interesting paper containing the form which he used when receiving them, and the questions which, in his priestly capacity, he demanded of the penitent. Amongst the latter it is not a little noteworthy to find a searching inquiry into the penitents' views with reference to the corruptions of the Church of Rome. The penitent was further required to express a hearty recognition of the Reformed Churches of Christendom as "Churches of Christ and parts of the Holy Catholic Church," and a solemn acceptance of the Church of England as "the most happily reformed one of all others." The highest views, in fact, with reference to the priestly office and the power of the keys co-existed with the most unflinching antagonism to the Church of Rome. As regards his own method of preparing for confession he writes, "I judge it a very good method and profitable for me to peruse the records of my soul in the manner following:—

"1. To peruse the thoughts of the day every night.

"2. Those of the week every week on Friday.

"3. Those of the month once in the month, viz. on the last Friday of the month.

"4. Those of the quarter once every quarter, viz. in the Easter Week.

"5. And those of the whole year once every year, viz. in the Advent.

"6. And in the Lent I think it convenient to peruse

those of the whole life, and to make a scrutiny thereinto as far as we are able."

A few of his "Occasional Thoughts" may be quoted as specimens of the inner working of his soul at this time, and as proofs of that truly devotional character which he undoubtedly possessed, in spite of the infirmities and consequent errors which often accompany an ardent and impetuous temperament. The original spelling in these quotations has not as a rule been adhered to, as they were compiled from the MSS. at a time when there was no intention of printing them.

"Lord, what did I do when I entered in to the Ministry —nay, rather, what have I done since I did enter into that most honourable and weighty function—in living so carelessly and trifling away so much time!

"I have a weak body, weaker brains and still weaker heart, God knows. God be merciful to me a sinner.

"I have often had (God knows and God forgive me) strength of brain as well as of body to have done great things and to have become considerable etc.; but I wanted then heart and will; but now God hath in His mercy stirred up my will and inclined my heart to attempt the redeeming of my time.

"Once gone and ever gone. I feel now sadly distressed by my past mis-spent time. As I have been stupendiously stupid in trifling away so much to so little purpose, so I have been egregiously sottish in flattering myself that I should ever regain it, while I felt no weakness at all in my body nor brain. I wanted will and heart to tug lustily at what I have now, by God's blessing, more will and heart to begin, than I have brain or body to accomplish. Having for some considerable part of those two years last past,

especially during the times of Advent and Lent, busied and employed my brain about reading and study of the Scriptures and some other spiritual books, I have found my brain as well as my blood so much heated that, had I not seasonably blooded about 25th of November last, upon first discovery of this disorder, and again on the 13th of this instant, upon renewal of this heat, I had certainly fallen into some lamentable distemper. The greatest danger is, I hope, past. I will endeavour for the future, by God's grace, to understand my temperance of body better, and use seasonable care and circumspection that I do not overdrive it. I see now plainly that there is no gaining at a spurt and by fits what one hath been 20 years in losing. 'Tis the way to become mad sooner than learned or holy. Tho' I am yet, to my great sin and shame, very little of the two latter, yet I am not, (I bless God) the first; tho' I fear I may have ventured a little too foolishly toward it heretofore, especially of late. But I hope it hath not been my study, and contemplation also, which did of late thus discompose my head and body. The other vexations of my mind I have long struggled with to my great disturbance, together with my over-compliance with my sister's humour, and my not bleeding more than once in 18 months, have certainly contributed towards it. Blessed be God that 'tis no worse. I feel myself now in a tolerable good state of health and for study. God bless and continue it; give me more discretion and wisdom. My remembrance and experience of my good friend D was a sober warning to me, and the cause of my timely application to the physician and chirugeon.

"Sometimes I am for too much method and sometimes use too little; sometimes I over-dispute before I act and sometimes I am over-rash; sometimes I am too intent on

my study and devotions, and sometimes quite remiss. I have long had the notion in my head, but I would fain feel it in my heart and see it in my actions, that '*Virtue consists always in mediocrity.*' I beseech Almighty God to establish me once there; to deliver me from my reeling and fix me.

"As I find the eyes of my mind sometimes in a manner dazzled or purblind, and cannot see anything clearly enough that ought to be done, so I do at some other times (as at present) see some things a little too clearly, and perceive so many good things fit to be done at once, and so am in some kind distracted what to do first.

"Methinks in the exercise and employment of my thoughts I am served just as I have been on arrival at a town with my baggage. At leaving my coach and demand for my friend Nicholas or Thomas etc., a multitude of impertinent followers accost me, offering their services. 'I am at your service,' saith one, and 'I am at your service,' saith another, but I reply 'Where is my friend Nicholas or Thomas?' 'Oh, sir,' saith one, 'I will serve you quite as well as Nicholas or Thomas.'

"I have often been in a state that I have been afraid to give myself the liberty of my thoughts lest what was in itself religious and devout should drive away thoughts not only relating to recreation and secular business, but even all kinds of study of human learning,—a very ill extreme. And now it hath pleased GOD so to change the temper of my body and mind (having both seen and felt the devil in the other) that I do not give liberty to those good religious and spiritual thoughts that ever press into my mind, lest I am ensnared by the same malicious spirit into the hurting of my brain and body by immoderate devotion and thoughtfulness, especially having been in some danger of late.

God guide me into the mean between these and all extremes.

"How great unquietness yet remains in my mind, (God remove it). When I do arise from my bed and have dispatched my usual devotions perparatory to the business of the day, I am distracted before I can detirmine what to set about. I do dispute a considerable time before I can detirmine whether it be most expedient to betake myself to my secular business or my studies, of both which there seems so much on my hands that I am in a manner affrighted to attempt either. After much debate my scrupulous conscience inclines me most commonly to fall to my study; sometimes, I am afraid, when other business would be more seasonable, but then I am no less distracted to detirmine what kind of study is most expedient for me. I spend a considerable time now before I come to any resolution; which when I do, it is usually for the divine; my aforesaid troublesome *camerade* will not be satisfied with any other, leaving me in as great a maze as before to know what kind of book of divinity I ought to study; and before I have finished this third (learned) dispute with my (coxcombical) self, I have spent my whole forenoon without doing any thing, and am summoned to dinner, and fall very resolutely and with great judgment to the first dish I meet, without any long debate, unless it be with my valet for not whetting my knife as sharp as my stomach, for the more expedient repulsing my mortal enemy, hunger, which by the help of *Mon. Quelquechose*, (I mean a good desert) I do effect in some reasonable time. I wish I could *souffir si bien pour mon âme.*

"I have many years complained at the disorder and confusion of my study, I mean my books and papers and other things therein. It hath been more pains to find a

thing than to use it when found etc. But I see a remedy for it which I could not hit on before, though I have lived 40 years in the world, till this present; namely to take pains to put things in order when one lays them out of hand, which, if one does constantly, he shall find them in order when he has use of them. It is the same thing lacking in the affairs of the head and heart; God forgive me all that is past. I will endeavour better and complain less. Grant O Lord, that I may. Amen.

" O Thou Sun of Righteousness, Who are the true Light, enlighting every man that cometh into the world, vouchsafe to shine into my soul more clearly every day, every moment, till Thou hast perfectly dispelled and dispersed whatsoever doth hinder me, disturb me, or distract me in communion with Thee my God, or the discharge of my duty incumbent on me as a public person or as a private Christian. Thou art the Way, the Truth, and the Light, be ever with me. Guide and direct me, assist and prosper me, counsel and advise me, confirm and strengthen me, bless and protect me in all goodness, all holy exercises, all holy actions and lawful Christian designs, attempts, and undertakings (even in my very recreations) and bring me at last, by Thy wisdom and providence, through all the difficulties of my life and calling to my desired port of salvation. Amen, sweet Jesu, Amen.

" And now I think I am quits with that malicious spirit which hath disordered me all this morning. I have proposed to myself this day the writing and doing of many good things, but have been so distracted that I have brought nought to perfection but this good honest prayer to be delivered from all the devil's delusions To his own peril be it if he attacks me thus for the future. I declare this shall be my refuge. I will fly to One mightier than he and

all his instruments, for protection, Who will at last (I trust) confound all his devices.

"'*Never to put off that till tomorrow which we can as well do to-day*' is a maxim which I have long had in my head and mouth to very little purpose. I have prayed for diligence and pressed others to it, but have remained myself dilatory all the while, even to admiration. God have mercy on me. Amen.

"One of my great defaults, nay sins, hath been my over-talkitiveness (when heated) about religion and virtue, wherein, having sometimes far much exceeded while I have come so very short (considering my opportunities) in the practice of real virtue, I have gone about (methinks) in some manner to have commuted with God, and given Him a double or treble share of talk of the tongue to appease Him and excuse myself for the more necessary and difficult mortification of the heart. A treatment (methinks) somewhat like that we usually treat our children with, when we go about to delude them with an apple to avoid the granting them some more difficult request. Keep Thou, O Lord, the door of my lips that I may not offend Thee by impertinent undue pretence of religious talk, and in due season open Thou them that my mouth may show forth Thy praise, lest I offend against Thee or my brother by peevish and sinful silence. Amen.

"I have observed, since my coming into France and giving more application to the reading and study of the Scriptures and other spiritual books, that I have more than ordinary warmth in my soul; have been affected some what more than ordinarily about things; better than ordinary composed in my study and search after truth, especially since this time twelve months; ever since which time I have found more light in my understanding after all my

carelessness, and found more strength, I thank God, in my will, and warmth in my affections, to some better purpose I hope than heretofore. I have renewed former resolutions and entered upon some new methods etc. The Lord Jesus, the true Light and Strength of my soul be ever with me, and carry me on more successfully through my spiritual conflict. I beseech Him, for His mercies sake, to grant that that grace He hath now, or shall bestow upon me, may be more carefully employed and effectually improved to His honour and the good of my soul. Amen.

"Excess makes virtue become vice.

"It is more seasonable, profitable, and pleasing to God to be mortifying my passions than always employed in feeding my brains. There is no danger in this.

"I have busied my poor head, my weak brains, and little wit for now 20 years how to improve myself in true devotion; have changed this method and that method, this form and that form etc. to dispose my soul to practise virtue, and yet have seldom or ever, or most imperfectly, practised what I have been fitted for, and have had opportunity to do. The Lord have mercy on me and deliver me. Amen.

"Want of method certainly disorders my head as much as my study. I have laid up in my noddle a great many good things, but when they should do me service I know not where to find them, no more than a book or paper in a disorderly study. Confusion is more to be avoided than over-exactness.

"Mr. Locke hath hit very rightly in assigning to my disquietness of mind, for the chief cause, my fancies that one was obliged to do always what was precisely best. It is true this was one of the first grounds of my disorder, and somewhat of it doth remain still and much imposes on

me. But I thank God I have been long satisfied (so as to satisfy my conscience) I did not commit a sin in not doing what was best. I could be satisfied with any good thing or action that I did, or order or method which I undertook, provided it did at the long run succeed. I have been many years posing (?) on the duties of Christianity, but yet am but a lamentable Christian; many years bustling about my ministerial function, and yet am but a pitiful Divine or Churchman; and these many years have had to do with books (by fits and starts) and yet am but an ordinary scholar; for that which I do, though it be not ill, and I allow it good, yet it seems not to be seasonable or the thing which I ought to do; or if it should chance so to be, yet I am sure I do not do it in a right manner. I beseech my Almighty and most Merciful Father to have pity on me, and deliver me at length out of this maze, that I may honestly improve and faithfully employ the parts which He hath given me to His honour and His Church's good. Amen.

"While we are only busy in avoiding gross, known, and open sins, and are not subjecting ourselves in reference to our corrupt nature; backward to search our hearts and negligent to mortify our evil notions and inclinations, though we seem pretty well prepared for and fortified against our enemies without, yet we are strangely forgetful that we have traitors within our bosoms. As long as we are in this state we are far from secure, and so much the less secure in reality by how much the more secure in our own conceits. From these and all self-delusions the Lord deliver us. Amen.

"I do remember a similitude that Dr. Gunning used at Exeter House, in y^e^ Chapel about 20 years since, very pertinent to my thoughts at present. A man rising early

in the morning about break of the day hath light enough to get up, put on his clothes and do what is most necessary; but to walk and dispatch all the affairs of his calling and order his whole day's conversation, he needs greater and clearer light. It is just so with a young convert; at the beginning, when he first sets about the exercise of Repentance, he hath but little light, a kind of dawning rather than clear day, and yet it is sufficient, if he rightly improve it, for the purpose of what is most necessarily incumbent on him, and to bring him into a posture to go through with more exactness the business of the day, with the light coming on, which will not fail to increase, if he can with patience wait for it, and employ himself and keep himself but waking and his eyes open. But if he falls asleep again and shuts his eyes, (though he may have his clothes on) the day light when it comes, though never so clear, will signify nothing to him.

"I do well remember this pertinent similitude, and I would to GOD that I had but sufficiently considered it so as to have kept always well awake and mine eyes open, which if I had done the daylight which I have earnestly longed after, and do (blessed be GOD'S Name) in some measure enjoy at present more than usually, would have soon come. The God of mercy and Father of light be gracious unto me now in pardoning my past sins, support my present weaknesses, and increase the light which He hath darted into my soul till it shine unto the perfect day.

"Sometimes over-methodical, other times unmethodical; Sometimes I do propose too much, oftentimes too little; I am so far from hitting golden mediocrity that I seldom discover it—Lord, shine into my soul etc.

"Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me; how frail a thing is man! how discomposed is my head and how broken and

shattered are my thoughts! I had something in my mind worthy, as I thought, to be penned down, but before I could get my paper and pen in readiness to write it fled from me; how little reason have I to trust to my memory or my brains that thus daily deceive me! No, I will never trust either, (though I intend better to employ both) as I have done. O sweet Saviour, Who never failest those who trust in Thee, Thou only art stable, Thou only art infallible. In Thee I put my whole trust and confidence. O supply all my defects. I do renounce all confidence in the arm of flesh. This is my desire and temper of my soul. O accept of it, howsoever flesh and blood doth contradict it.

"I desire God to hear my prayers no further than they are in accordance with His will. I beseech Him rather to give me what doth profit me than what doth please me, what is really good rather than what doth only appear so, bitter potions, provided they be certain and infallible means of recovery of health and a more sound constitution, and make me capable of greater degrees of spiritual and everlasting pleasures, rather than more pleasing and less effectual means of recovery.

"I have condemned many expences of my lad: Sp: for superfluous since our coming abroad, (as well as some unreasonable saving), but I never observed any soe exceeding blameable as the giving of this late louis d'or to three or foure men for shewing a masquerade of Hobby horses or *cheveaux frustes* as they terme them in this country. It is as much as if shee had given £5 in England. A crowne had been (as I hinted) a great piece of generosity. I do beleive it a sin, and yet I dare not tell her of it, least I doe occasion many more. Such is my state that I am reduced to. God give me patience etc. It is not that she is greedy of such sights (her vanity lyes not that way) but

that she is over greedy of praise, even among such as are noe judges of true worth. I did never thinke that I should see such a failing in my . . . (? sister). But while I am condemning her, let mee not forgett that this sin of vain glory is the sin of our family, and that it is possible that I have been guilty of it as egregiously. Alas! my conscience tells mee that I have; otherwise it had not been possible for mee to have squander'd away so many thousand pounds. All that I can say for my selfe is, that I am sure I had not such a sense of things as I have at this present. I beseech God to seale unto mee dayly more surely the pardon of all that is past. I hope I shall give less scandall for the future etc. The grave offence I take at my . . . (? sister) shall make mee watchfull over my selfe. Shee had the reputation of more prudence than my selfe, (and hath deserved it as to worldly managements) and if shee can faile so notoriously, how greatly may I have failed, nay fallen, that was never thought (worldly) prudent either by my selfe or others. The Lord God have mercy on mee and bring mee by degrees to a sense of all my sinnes that have been most displeasing in His sight. Amen.

"He that mortifies well doth pray well; and he that prays well doth study well; '*bene orasse est bene studuisse*,' saith Luther. He then that hath ever well studied how to mortify and die daily, prays continually, and is no mere student, for he that lives well, (according to a proverb in Mr. Herbert's 'Collection of Proverbs') is learned enough. A handful of good life being, (according to another) better than a bushel of learning."

Occasionally these "Flying, broken, and imperfect Thoughts" contain poetry and versifications of an amusing

character. There are verses "upon looking out of window at Tour D'Aigues, and seeing all things covered with snow, a good depth not known in a hundred years." There are verses in French "upon sending a cow for a present to M. Brouchier—verses writ in merriment," but his poetic vein chiefly expends it in amusing burlesques on his sister and her queer whims.

Chief amongst these is "A merry essay in canonical Burlesque by Jeffery Haines the younger, buffoon general to the renowned Lady Scrupulosa, (or as some style her Suspitiosa, and others Timidosa, over-good) sometimes known by the name of Parson Telltrove, Vicar of Gothan and Petty-Coate Chaplain to y^e^ aforesaid Lady, who is of a cast-away dull Priest become a thread-bare and duller Poet.

"Ridentem dicere verum
"Quis vetat?"

As an apology for including such pieces in his book of "Occasional Thoughts," he writes as follows:—

"Though these thoughts, which I pen down thus promiscuously, be designed for no one's view but mine own, yet I, being a mortal man, it may chance otherwise if I should be surprized with a sudden death, from which '*libera*' etc. And if so, I fear that those that view them may be scandalized to find subjects of so different a nature thus tumbled together, drollery at the heels of devotion. But such an apprehension is not sufficient to balance the good I find by penning down my thoughts in this manner that I may have a record of my soul in all estates, whether of merriment or seriousness. To keep distinct collections of such various subjects would be very troublesome and less effectual to the end I design, which I hope is both

honest and Christian, namely to recreate sometimes my mind as well as to feed it."

Often these merry essays are prefaced with words like these:—

"Finding my brain not fit for more intense study and devotion, having busied myself a little more than ordinary of late, I deem it necessary to unbend my bow a little and give my fancy a liberty to play, betaking myself to my old usual divertisement of a burlesque. But God be with me, I beseech Him, in my very divertisements that, instead of giving my fancy liberty, it doth not become wanton; and instead of recreating my mind, it become not idle."

CHAPTER VII.

TOWARDS the close of the year 1677, there was another report that the Dean of Durham was again seriously ill and unlikely to recover. The news reached Dennis Granville at Marseilles, where he was staying with his servant, and the following beautiful thoughts on the probable promotion that lay before him were penned in his dairy:—

"MARSEILLES, *December 5th*, 1667.

"SOME OCCASIONAL EJACULATIONS AND DEVOTIONS ON READING IN THE 'GAZETTE' THE NEWS THAT THERE WAS GREAT PROBABILITY OF THE REMOVAL OF THE DEAN OF DURHAM.

"Lord deliver me from all irregular and inordinate desires after outward contentments and satisfactions.

"Let me never become vain in indulgence of what I possess, or sinful in my desiring of what I expect or may be designed to me.

"Let nothing, my dear Saviour, corrupt and debauch the temper of my soul and cool my love towards Thee, Who art my All in all—my God and all things (Thomas-a-Kempis).

"Let there never be used any irregular dishonest courses by any of my friends and relations for my advancement, and let me never be advanced, O Lord, but with Thy good letting, and so I may always expect Thy blessing.

"Thy blessing maketh all things prosper. Thy blessing maketh rich. Thy blessing maketh all states and conditions most eligible and desirable.

"Lord, secure unto me Thy blessing, whatever become

of other expectations. Bless and sanctify more and more unto me, O my merciful and gracious God, whatever I do or shall enjoy.

"Deprive me, O Lord, of both future expectations and present enjoyments, rather than of Thy blessing and grace to employ and improve Thy gifts Christianly. This is the earnest desire of my soul, however flesh and blood contradict it.

"O fulfil this my desire which I often repeat unto Thee. Nay not only deprive me of affluence of outward things, but even of the ordinary comforts of human life, if Thou in Thy infinite wisdom seeest it most expedient for me or others, for mine own or any of Thy people's salvation.

"I do offer myself up unto Thee, (help me to do it in sincerity) even for a sacrifice for Thy Church's good.

"Exercise me with any crosses or afflictions, if Thou seeest them necessary for the purifying of my soul; only enable me to suffer like a Christian, and lay on me what Thou wilt.

"Thy will be done, though in my own undoing.

"Amen. Amen."

The priestly character was evidently kept up by Granville abroad with an undeviating strictness and a most punctilious observance of the Church's rule. We have an instance of this in his Sunday's employment at Marseilles, on another occasion than that alluded to above:—

"Minitts for this day being Sunday, and being here without a congregation, only with my man.

"1. Half houre meditation on Creed and Lord's Prayer. 2 Shaving and dressing. 3 Recitall of our offices for Sunday with my man. 4 After dinner visiting Mrs.

Wheeler and carrying home her book. 5 After returning to my chamber to say our other prayers with my man. 6 Going to Mr. L'ange."

His care for the spiritual welfare of his servant is very apparent:—

"'The shoemaker's wife goes worst shod of all the parish,' say people; and so it fares some times with the parson's man. He is worse cared for as to his soul than others, which verifies the proverb 'The nearer the Church etc.' as it fell out this celebration with Thomas. God supply both his and my defects."

"Thomas," accordingly, receives special instructions for the regulation of his conduct during Lent.

"1. To learne every day to read the contents of the Lessons for the day.

"2. The Collects without book etc.

"3. To exercise his witt as much this Lent about learning as he did before about his divertisements; and then at Easter perchance hee may bee able, by God's blessing, to act the wise man as hee did on Mardy-Gras play the foole.

"4. To submitt his humour and will to his master's; but as much (and for as long time) as his master hath submitted his to his servant's, and he will find it very easy to do all his master requires, and become a better servant and a tolerable Christian."

He was ever the Priest to his own family, although this position was apparently resented by Lady Joanna, who, he complains, was constantly intruding on his office.

"1. At Montpellier with some concern and impatience with me about the time and place of performance of our daily common prayer.

"2. Then another time arguing hard against the use of the offertory at the celebration of the Sacrament in the house . . . . .

"3. Busying herself so much sometimes about ordering the room which I chose for the place of prayer, and showing often much fondness of her own humour (which was not to be consulted in such matters) in arguing over much about things, after I had ordered them and declared my judgment concerning them.

"4. Opposing me about having a sermon on Ash-Wednesday after I and another Divine, Mr. Wals, had agreed together and concluded to have one.

"5. She opposed me in a business clearly in my own sphere in my lord of D's coach between Pont Lunel and Nismes, when I proposed to each of the three to make a new purse for the poor by putting a crown or two apiece into my hands to be disposed of according to my discretion as occasion should serve, without mingling my disbursements for them to the poor with my other accounts, which I found troublesome and not edifying.

"6. Pressing me too far for private celebrations of the Sacrament after she had in a manner rendered herself incapable of them by separating herself from all our country folks, there being not above three persons besides herself of age to communicate, one of which I did not think qualified to such a privilege, and having but bare hopes of some sincerity in the other two, and a great many objections against one of those two also for a great while.

"7. In a manner unpardonable, rising up from her place in much displeasure before some of her family (and one a very wicked young girl); even bursting out into words, which she had done twice before on some other

occasions, because I declared it not so fit to administer the Communion on Christmas-Day as on New Year's Day, by reason of a scandalous quarrel then depending and not being perfectly made up betwixt her demoiselle and my valet, which were two of the intended communicants.

"8. After this, when we had agreed on a day of some spiritual conference and I had prepared in writing a method of some rules, she began to reason (methought) against my intended procedure in a manner more becoming a person that was to teach than one that came to be advised, though she did at last in some kind submit. But the unwillingness she discovered made me go a little out of my designed mode (for fear of a quarrel), and take one less beneficial to her, and avoid a greater inconvenience, namely the discomposing of both our souls, (as too often we had done) with some hot contention, very unbecoming a minister and mortified Christian.

"9. Before Easter carrying herself, (though she came again to confer spiritually with me) with too much reservedness for a spiritual patient in the presence of her spiritual physician, insomuch that I was afraid to examine so particularly as I do with others about the execution of my injunctions, or search to the bottom of her sores, for fear of some new warring with her, which I could not enter into without betaking myself to a remedy which might have occasioned (through her weakness) an evil worse than the disease.

"10. At Tour D'Aigues when she came to me offering herself to confess and desiring a formal absolution (which was the only time that she had yet done it) she began to reason with me a little too dogmatically about the manner (which is left wholly to the minister) of performing it, arguing hard to have it according to her own mode, which

very much and justly offended me, seeing her (self will?) even then (when she least ought) abound in her own soul; and would have caused me to have refused her such a particular and private absolution, if she had continued wedded to her own humour and ways, that were so perfectly out of her sphere. But she at last submitted to my own method and manner (in some sort) and I gave her, upon her voluntary confession, (after some preparatory questions demanded of her on her knees) a solemn absolution. But I confess it was not without some reluctance that I gave it, her natural temper, mind, and body being such as would not admit of a sufficient search into the bottom of her wounds, which in my opinion began a little to rankle, and required other kind of plaisters than I, too weak a physician, apothecary, or chirugeon for such an extraordinary patient had in my shop.

"11. Her not giving up the young people perfectly to my will in point of correction (from the beginning) as well as other parts of discipline, which possibly may be the ruin of one of them.

"12. At Christmas intermeddling too far in some distribution of money to the poor and prescribing new rules to act according to her humour rather than my own judgment.

"13. After Christmas during the lamentable storm consenting that I should dispose of more money, for her, as well as for myself, to the poor, and afterwards presuming, on her own judgment, more than mine (I knowing more the people of the place) to impose on us new rules to give according to her mode rather than our own, when it was plain that she was led by the excess of her compassion (to consider one particular family) more than by her reason.

"These things are certainly very ill in her and proceed from a temper that is very sinful (though she doth not see it) in very much over-valuing her own judgment and as much suspecting mine, especially I acting in my sphere and she out of hers. I fear I have sometimes complied too far and prostituted (though she thought that I have arrogated) my sacred office; which if I have I beseech God to forgive me. But I am sure that she hath given me the temptation thereto in having gone very far beyond what is decent for her sex. I beseech Almighty God as heartily to forgive her and to pass by both her and my failings. God give her more modesty of judgment and understanding, (who abounds with so much of some sorts) to submit to her teachers, though they chance to be but brother Denis; and me more courage and resolution than ever to be guilty of any sinful condescension towards my people, and especially when I have to do with my natural relations, who are too apt, (according to our Saviour) to contemn the authority of a Prophet of their own house. I do not doubt but that she will in due time see these and many more faults which she doth not yet discern, (and those about her a little too much); till which time of God's goodness towards her, (whereof I am very confident) I ought to have patience with her, (as He hath had with me, blessed be His Name). I have not only hinted but told her of them as far as her temper will bear reproofs. I would do her better service if I could, but I fear I am not capable till she changes her opinion both of herself and me. When we are separated I know she will soon do it, and want, it may be, some of my poor services, when I shall be incapacitated to render them to her by reason of my greater obligation to my own flocks in England."

On one occasion Lady Joanna lost her temper so much

that "in Mr. Ffloy's dining room after supper I was lustily boxed, yet forced to take it patiently, notwithstanding my blood boiled high in my veins to the great disturbance of my poor head and heart, cunningly as I concealed it. God deliver me from the like pettycoat lectures. I never saw poor honest priest so rough-handled by so good lady in my whole life. "*En verite la jupe s'y a emporté la victoire contre la sutane.*'"

At Aix, Christmas, 1677, "coming out of my bed" Dennis Granville drew up the following "questions in the Name of God to be propounded to my sister."

"1. Do you in reality think yourself more understanding than myself in things pertaining to my calling?

"2. Do you think me honest and sincere, though never so imperfect, in my intentions and the actions of my function?

"3. Do you believe me the deputy of Jesus Christ, authorized in His Name to counsel, comfort, admonish, reprove, rebuke, and exhort?

"4. Is it not the duty of every christian to give to the ministers of Christ what respect He requires in the Gospel?

"5. Whether you believe that I do arrogate to myself any authority more than is my due in the discharge of my office?

"6. Nay, is it not common prudence, if it were not Christian duty, to be guided and governed by people in their own professions while they keep in their own spheres?

"7. Whether travelling on the road when we are at a loss, if it be not the wisest course to take the most probable way?

"8. Whether supposing me thus God's deputy etc., it

be not probable at least that God will be on my side to assist me against any that shall oppose me in the honest discharge of my office and ministerial applications?

"9. Whether all suggestions, suspicions, and jealousies, and censorious thoughts arising in any one's mind to the hindrance of a good spiritual work, do come from the devil rather than from God?

"10. Whether it be not dangerous at least to admit any such suggestions etc., though never so plausible, since the devil often transforms himself into an angel of light, and even apes and imitates the actings of God's Spirit within us?

"11. Whether God hath not heretofore in my early years and entrance into a religious course of life, before I wore Christ's livery, made me an instrument of some small good to your soul?

[This question is crossed out].

"12. Whether after 20 years studying of Divinity and exercise of my function and sincere practice of devotion (though, God knows, with great imperfections) I am not capable to do you much more considerable service?

"13. Whether a child of God may not have great faults, which, though invisible to himself, may be visible to another, and whether such faults may not obstruct one's growth in virtue, nay at last occasion us to fall from our first love?

"14. Whether it may not be your case that, (though you be confessed to be as good a Christian as you have the reputation of) you may not have such faults?

"15. Whether that the knowledge of your person and humour and your complexional faults, (incident to us all of our family) joined with the particular converse in spirituals which I have had with you at home and abroad,

doth not enable me now in these circumstances to give a truer judgment of your soul than any more able and godly Divine, that only sees the best side of you and knows you only by your relation and discourse?

"16. Whether as God by his providence hath put into your hand such a blessed opportunity of profiting your soul by the labours and spiritual assistance of me, (though never so unworthy and simple a brother and minister) you ought not to embrace it, complying with the providence of God in permitting me to have my will is so holy an ambition of helping you at this time forward in virtue and true mortification of your nature towards perfection, as I did first, by God's blessed assistance, contribute a little to your early practice of religion?

"17. Whether, if we studied to do a mischief to our souls, we could find out any more certain way to do it than to feed ourselves with jealousies and suspicions of the spiritual person with whom we have to do at any time in matters of conduct, and to entertain prejudices against him for his supposed defects and real infirmities?

"18. Whether any supposed defects or his real infirmities, (though sinful ones) can unqualify a sincere faithful minister of Christ that makes it his business to understand and execute his office according to his talents, to discharge the same to the profit of his people's souls, or ought to discourage us in the use of his labours?

"19. Whether such kind of conceits and imaginations may not probably come from the devil, since they may frustrate the endeavours of the best Divine, who is but a sinful man, or render his godly labours less effectual?

"20. Whether it be not the duty and interest too of every Christian that values the welfare of his soul to reject all such suggestions as may probably come from so mali-

cious and cunning an enemy, though we have no more ground of certainty than the opinion of a faithful though very weak Divine?

"21. Whether a backwardness to afford Christ's deputy all that full power over us in guiding our consciences and discovering our corruptions, be not only a certain sin but such an one as carries with it no less guilt than a secret contempt of God's way of salvation, namely His first making use of poor simple and sinful fishermen for planting the Gospel, and His employing ever since men of like infirmities for the propagation of the same?

"22. Whether this again be not so much your case that you have stumbled, if not sometimes fallen, at this stumbling stone, namely so as to undervalue God's counsels some times directed by His Spirit to your very soul and conscience, merely because they have come from your, poor, silly, weak, sinful brother Denis?"

Pinned by these twenty-two voluminous questions, Lady Joanna answered in the affirmative to all except the 5th, which she said she would take time to consider further, being evidently of the opinion that her brother did arrogate to himself more authority than was his due in the discharge of his office!

The following penances imposed by Dennis Granville on his little flock are also quaint reading:—

"*My sister.* 1. Reading of Common Prayer. 2. Writing down objections. 3. Writing 6 lines every day of spirituall thoughts. 4. To avoid saying 'poor or dear Mall' or 'pray Mall' but plain 'Mall'; without saying anything of this injunction to the child.

"*Mary.* God having laid penance enough on Mary in her pain she needs no other, but rather consolation. I shall therefore only require her to hear Thomas read over the contents of the Lessons for the day following, every day, so often till he is perfect.

"*Mrs. Finch.* 1. To speak French every day but Sundays and Holy days. 2. To write me an answer over every week to a letter which I shall write her.

"*Thomas.* To get the Collects for the week without book, as well as learn the contents of both Lessons for morning and evening.

"*Jack.* 1. To get by heart Mr. Herbert's Church Porch. 2. And whenever he shall answer yes or no, to my sister or self to add Sir or Madam—yes Sir or yes Madam —no Sir or no Madam.

"*Child.* 1. To write over my paper about reproof. 2. To learn also the Church Porch. 3. To speak all French.

"METHOD WITH MRS. FINCH AND MARY TO PREPARE THEM THE BETTER FOR THE SACRAMENT, AT THIS EXTRAORDINARY TIME AND CONJUNCTURE OF AFFAIRS.

"1. To discourse with them jointly in my closet, only upon the subject of our misery and danger in reference to the state of England.

"2. To discourse with them againe both in the presence of Mall, declaring to them that I can give no Sacrament unless they give me a resolution that they will assist me in the correction of the child whensoever I shall judge fit and require it.

"3. To discourse them once more alone, by way of reflection on what was past, and such things as seem most particular seasonable, praying with them.

"To whip the boy, if it can be possibly contrived, this morning after prayers, (tho' it be a great mortification to my nature in some respects) to convince Mall that I am in earnest, and make her stand in fear."

Again, another curious document, entitled "Mary Thornhill's Confession" is extant. It is evidently in the girl's own handwriting, being a round unformed hand like that of a child, whilst the preface and postscript are in Dennis Granville's own handwriting.

Mary Thornhill's Confession.

"Mary Thornehill doth badly deserve her name, for Mary is a gratious name, but Mary Thornehill hath proved an ungratious child; but I confesse of late there hath been some outward appearances of a mendment and reformation. Would to God it were an inward and real one indeed. If it be not yet soe, I pray God for to make it soe, that she may once deserve soe a good a name as her friends have bestowed upon her.

"Aix March 13, 1679. I can not deny but that I have been very bad. I ask God forgiveness for what is past, and resolve a new by his grace, to endever every day to bee better, and in confirmation thereof I doe here in the presence of God and his holy angells, and of you his priest and minister set my hand.

"Mary Thornehill.

"I pray God give her grace to sett allsoe thereto her heart."

The next papers have reference to the preceding Advent and Lent, and explain the above confession and penances, and the discipline of whipping the boy after prayers!

Advent, 1678.

"I have been all this Advent in somewhat a more warm and composed temper than ever in my whole life, and have discoursed and prayed somewhat more effectively and methodically; only I have found my heat increase in my discourse and carry me into my usual hurry, which I cannot but condemn, though I cannot easily help it, which makes me transgress and exceed often in my usual talk both in public and private. God in His due time give me moderation and control of myself to use and improve what powers God bestows on me, (natural or acquired,) and discretion to distinguish every day more and more between the motives of grace and nature. Amen..

"I bless God I went through all the offices and duties of this Advent with some more than ordinary comfort to my mind, and I hope with some more than ordinary profit to my family. God was pleased to bless all my applications in some sort with seasonable success and compliance. My sister gave up not only the boy but the girl to my discipline (which she had long omitted, I fear with much sin). Mrs. Finch and Mary submitted in a very difficult task imposed on them, namely to correct the stubborn child Mall when I should require them. Both the young people gave some signs of amendment, though I confess what the girl gave was not much, but capable to be improved by God's blessing (which I heartily beg) further than she designed by her submission. If all perform their promises I look upon

it as a considerable step to their further improvement by my poor endeavours. I beseech Almighty God to be with their preparation before, and their performances at, and endeavour after the celebration of the Holy service at this solemn time of our Lord's Nativity approaching.

"CHRISTMAS DAY, 1678, IMMEDIATELY AFTER "COMMUNICATING.

"I am through God's mercy not only alive but lusty and strong and in a better condition of health (I trust) than usual, notwithstanding the sickness of my childhood and all the diseases and hazards of my youth which I have gone through. And so, on the other side, as to my soul. I bless the gracious good God that there seems at present to be not only life, but some kind of strength and a better degree of health than I have often, (if ever) experienced heretofore in England. I beseech that wise and good God to have mercy on both, and grant that I may not deceive myself as to either, and think myself in health and safe, when I am sick and in danger. And the same God Who hath by His Almighty Power hitherto saved me, still preserve me to glorify Him both with body and soul, in life and in death. It is a great goodness that I, who have not only so neglected to understand my bodily temper, but have foolishly hazarded my health and life so often, should so long escape death, and greater goodness that I, who have more neglected to understand and care for my Heart and Conscience, should be, notwithstanding all my past sloth and security, renewed (as at present) into a temper which affords me much comfort, and encourages me to hope that my gracious Saviour will carry me through all those difficulties which I have so often drooped and sunk under.

"Amen.

"ON THE PREPARATION OF SERMONS.

"I have often been thinking of that passage in Dr. Hamond's life (written by Dr. Fell) how hee alwayes on Munday morneing detirmined on the subject which hee would handle the Sunday following, and did cut out his worke, and then goe on his roade in his study, which hee found most commonly to afford him some thoughts soe pertinent to his subject as if he had selected them particularly for it. Dr. Hamond was a great good and venerable person. I will endeavour to imitate him, by God's grace, as far as I shall be capable, and that his practices shall be suitable and proportionate to mee. This, in particular, I think an excellent practice, and the slobbering over of our sermons and subjects for publick discourse is a notorious irregularity and sin among us young Divines. I am sure it hath been soe in my selfe. God forgive mee and bee mercifull to mee. I will avoid it for the future, and come as near Dr. Hamond as I may. When I have finished one publick discourse I will in the first place detirmine on a subject for the next, which I will not change, (unlesse something extraordinary intervene) and prosecute it soe that I may be prepared, if possible, a whole dayes space before hand, that I may have some time to unbend my bow and recreate my spirits, after the example of the learned Bishop Sanderson, (a great man and very happy in his sermons, tho' he had illuck in his delivery); as, for example, I will endeavour soe to dispatch my Sundayes discourse on Friday night that I might deliver it, if there was occasion, on Saturday morning, and soe proportionably as to all other dayes. And till I am more cunning at my study and improvement of my houres on that account, I will strive to make sure of such a subject of divinity as may prove noe ill week's study (if well digested) tho' it

should justle out all other. And thus, if I hold on to preach on Sundayes and holidayes, and expound Scriptures on Wensdayes and Fridayes in Lent and Advent, Ember Weeks etc. according to my usuall practice, I must likewise hold on in study, and, as I edifye my people, improve my selfe: and if I doe soe every week tho' never soe litle, I shall become more learned in a few yeares (for the future) than I have in my whole life by my irregular, inconstant methods (may rather fitts) of study. Hee whose blessing makes all things prosper, whoe gives both the power of will and performance, bee now and ever with mee both in my intentions and endeavours, *prosper the work of my hands upon mee, nay prosper on mee* etc. Amen.

As he feared might be the case when they settled in Provence, the Papists made a determined attempt to win over Dennis Granville from his allegiance to the Church of England. Thus he writes:—

"I have ever thought it my unhappinesse to have been detained soe long a time in soe bigot a country as Provence. But, blessed bee God, it hath been none of my choise. And now I begin to feele it, being made sensible of some of those il consequences which I have in some sort ever found. I am now unexpectedly attacqued by one of the most considerable and plausible of their Priests, and those that have sett him to worke have power and craft enough to prosecute it to the uttermost. If they cannot have their ends on mee one way, they may perchance, (to conceale their shame) betake themselves to some other. I am in a great straight. If I stand to my tackling in maintaining God's truth I may chance to be inveigled out of my reach, and drawne into controversies (for which I am not cut out)

above my strength. If I sneake (being not able to fly out of the country yet) and hold my peace, I may perchance not only dishonour but betray my Saviour and His religion, and wrong my poor brethren here in this country whoe are cheifly struck at through my sides. I beseech Him, whoe is the true Light, inlightening every man that comes into the world, to inlighten my understanding in reference to this affaire.

"'Tis every day more plainly discovered to mee that this Deane is imployed by the Cardinal, and since they begin to attack me thus subtilly and with guile, noe man knowes where it may end. I will fly to the refuge and protection of the Almighty wise and good God. 1st, betake my selfe to a more serious study of God's Word and mine owne heart, and prayer. 2ndly, call in the assistance of my brethren the Protestants of this country by communicating this designe to them, and commending my selfe to their prayers. 3, joining my selfe with them in their assemblies oftener, soe uniting my selfe more firmely to Christ's Body, by owning these his poore distressed members that are soe despicable in the eyes of the world. And Hee that is the Way the Truth and the Life, goe along with mee, blesse, direct, and prosper mee in this and all my undertakings. Amen.

"I am resolved to suffer (if I doe suffer) in maintening God's cause rather than in consulting mine owne honour and safety. Itt seems the safest extreame to leane to, in reference to my spirituall state, and therefore must be the most prudent course. But I will have a care, by God's grace, that I doe not go beyond my last.

"Yesterday I went hence to Pertuys to returne the visit of the Deane of Draguignan, who lodged at his nephew's

house one Mr. Clapier, where I was very civilly received even to the increase of my suspition; espetially the Deane using a very unusuall complement at my reception. 'How comes this to passe that the mother of my Lord (or my Lord) is come to me?' by which I conclude that hee thought hee had got grounds of mee by his last discourse about religion. Wherefore I see I must bee circumspect in our intercourse least I give scandall.

"As I was this day, after much concerne about the papist's designes upon mee, going to write a letter (and had taken paper into my hands for the purpose) to Mr. Bernard and Mr. Claude to secure theirs and their people's prayers for me during my intercourse and conversation with the papists, there entered into my chamber a minister (Monsr. Gaudeman of Lourmarin) with a letter in his hand from Mr. Bernard, assuring mee that he continued earnestly to pray for mee, the thing I was going about to desire; which affected mée much, and gave mee good grounds of hope that God intended gratiously towards mee in my designes and undertaking, thus presenting mee with his favours and espetiall providences: for taking my psalter in hand, and retiring for some devotion upon this account, the psalme which came to bee used by my method was the 83, very fit for my temper of soul, who had been all day much buisied in thinking on the papists' conspiracyes in England against the Church, and the conspiracies of the papists here against my person. God make me thankefull for his kind dispensations towards mee."

The conspiracy in England to which he refers is the plot connected with Titus Oates; of which he had no sooner heard that he besought the prayers of all the Protestant congregations near him.

"This day upon consideration of the evil circumstances of our King and Church by reason of the bloody plot against the King's person, and mischievous design against our Church, I thought fit (and I thank God put it into my heart) to have His Majesty's proclamation translated into French, and to communicate the same to all the protestant ministers and congregations which I was acquainted with, for the procuring their prayers for our Church, engaging them to keep pace with an humiliation (which subject being theirs as to religion) as far as their circumstances would permit them;—which I accordingly did.

"This evening it came into my thoughts that it was my duty not only to look home but to hasten home with all seasonable speed, concluding it proper for the shepherd to be with his sheep in this time of danger; and that though I might have been dispensed with if nothing extraordinary had happened, yet if matters fall out according to my fears, my poor presence will be necessary. This I resolve to discourse between God and my soul in order to the following the dictates thereof. The wise and good God be with me to counsel and advise me in this time of distress. Amen.

"Last night I received further intelligence from my brother Granville of the prosecution of the traitors that had conspired against the life of the King and our religion, according to the plot whereof Sir Thomas Higgons informed me in October last past; how two (Coleman Secretary to the Duchess of York and one Slater) had actually suffered, were hanged, drawn and quartered; which villaines, though they were excuted for so horrible a crime as high treason, which appeared most clearly to the Court, yet they were esteemed here as blessed martyrs! From such delusions the Lord deliver us.

"I do every day more and more clearly discern the

falsity of the Jesuits by the variety of lies that are daily invented to support their reputation and destroy ours, since we lay this cursed conspiracy against the King and the Church at their doors. Upon the executing of two notorious villains for a design against the King's sacred life, they report here in this country that there were many eminent good men martyred for their religion and that they died with great constancy. Secondly that we had massacred 20,000 Catholics etc. God deliver us from a religion that needs many lies to support it. I am sure that the truth of God doth not.

"I am astonished to consider the base impudent cheats and tricks of the knavish Jesuits and some bigot Papists in these parts of France, how they delude the poor ignorant people, and sometimes people of indifferent learning and good sense, who seldom read our books or understand the state of our Church. As for example, a canon of Montpellier asked of a friend of mine (upon discourse of the Church of England) whether we believed in Jesus Christ. A man at Aix wondered whether we were baptized. A gentleman hearing the papists were to be banished out of England used this expression, 'I hear that they are banishing all the *Christians* out of England,' not allowing us to be Christians!"

It is interesting to note Granville's attitude towards the foreign Protestants. He fully recognised them as brethren, joining in their worship, and not scrupling apparently to receive the Communion at the hands of their ministers. And in this he was but following the example of Bishop Cosin, (whose Churchmanship has never been doubted) who lived at Charenton, during his exile, on most friendly and intimate terms with the French Protestants,

recognizing the validity of their Orders, joining in their worship and permitting his children to do the same. With regard to their Orders Cosin seems to have accepted the judgment of his "lord and master Overall," as he delighted to term him, who "was wont to say 'Though we are not to lessen the *jus divinum* of Episcopacy, where it is established and may be had, yet we must take heed that we do not, for want of Episcopacy, where it cannot be had, cry down and destroy all the Reformed Churches abroad, both in Germany, France, and in other places, and say they have neither ministers nor sacraments but all is void and null that they do.'" And there were other eminent and deeply-learned Divines of the seventeenth century who took an equally charitable view of the position of the Reformed foreign Churches, of whom Bishop Andrewes was one.

Amongst Dennis Granville's papers is the following, which is entitled:—

"The substance of what I have said or have to say con-
"cerning owning the French Protestants and com-
"municating with them.

"1. I conceive (the substance of their Confession of Faith agreeing with ours and the Confessions of other Reformed Churches) they, receiving the three Creeds that of the Apostles, Athanasius, and Nice, have retained all things essentiall to salvation in point of faith.

"2. They have some order and decency (tho' the unhappy circumstances that they were in at their first Reformation would not permit them to retaine all that could be wish'd) in their assemblies and publick celebra-

tions. They have a Liturgy, a forme of prayer on the Lord's Day, before and after sermon, together with the recitation of the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Decalogue, and forme of Benediction; and a forme for Baptisme, the Eucharist, Marriage, Catechizing. And in the Church at Metz in Loraine (I have been told) they have retained the priest's pronunciation of absolution after their publick confession, '*Seigneur Dieu, Pere Eternel.*' The Presbyterians of England have none of these.

"3. They have a book of Rules of Discipline (somewhat like our Cannons) which enjoines the minister and people to use outward reverence in their congregations, as kneeling at their formes, which if neglected by both often times, (as we have seen it to our scandal at Montpellier) it is noe more the fault of the French Church than it is the fault of our owne, that there is soe much profane irreverence even in the King's Chappell and Cathedralls. Churches are to be judged of by their Rule of Faith, Discipline, and Worship, and not by preists and people's practice.

"4. Their most sober and learned ministers and Divines approve of the Order of our Church, whom I have heard terme it a Church Triumphant in comparison of theirs under their crosse, and approve of the Protestants of the Savoyes conforming to our Liturgy. If their bee many, even among the ministers, that doe not understand our Church, and talk distractingly of it, nay soe litle understand their owne as to justify their defects, which others bewaile, it is not soe strange as that we should find a multitude in England among our Cleargy, even in Cathedralls, that proclaime by their practice, (and by their mouthes sometimes) that they are not hearty lovers of Episcopacy and our owne establishment.

"5. They are wonderfully carefull and circumspect (in

their synods) of receiving their ministers; insomuch that it is exceedingly difficult for an ignorant or an il and scandalous man to creep in among them. And I never met with such yet anywhere tho' I have lived allmost six yeares in France.

"6. As to their want of Episcopall Government and Ordination, I say that they were, at their first Reformation, and are still, in such circumstances that they could not then retaine it, nor can now have it, if they would. This would lead into a great dispute, which I cannot now prosecute. I wish that all that are not satisfied herewith would take the paines to peruse an excellent preface of the renouned Hooker to one edition of his Ecclesiasticall Polity, wherein he doth justice to the poore Church of France, and even to Calvin himselfe, using these words after naming him, '*Whom I conceive to bee one of the most learned and pious men that ever the Church of France bred!* I know that there bee some among our eminent Divines, and possibly among our Bishopps that would unchurch them in a manner. But I fear that that is a bad piece of service to Christendome and to the Church of England itselfe, to unchurch therewith soe great a part of Christendome as the Reformed Churches which want Episcopall government, and to make our poore Church of England a distinct thing from all other Churches, and to stand by itselfe, which God knowes hath been too long in too tottering a condition to despise such supporters. I confesse and beleive that our mother the Church of England is the most happy in its reformation of all others and there are among our Bishops and eminent Divines of this same persuasion many whoe will not by any meanes unchurch the Reformed Churches abroad. And the great and incomperable Bishop Andrewes was of this mind and King Charles Ist.

"7. As to their wanting our decent ceremonies in their celebration and giving the Communion, I affirme that the rule of charity laid down by St. Ambrose may guide us here and in all such cases of indifferent things. When hee was at Rome hee said hee observed the ceremonies of Rome; when at Millan those of the church of Millan. Accordingly when they are in any of our churches of England receiving the sacrament they must kneele at it, and stand up at the Creed; and when wee are here abroad at their churches we ought to stand at the Sacrament and kneel at the Creed, because it is the custome of the Church soe to doe. And to break their customes must needs be a disturbance to them and soe a breach of charity and unity, much more lovely things in God's eyes than the most excellent externall order and uniformity: to which, by the way, I am soe far from being an enemy that I would sacrifice my life willingly (by God's grace) to procure the same in France (or any Church that wants it) as is in England.

"8. As to your communicating with them [ ] you bee in France I conceive it your duty, considering the circumstances we have been and are in, and like to be very much to edification, and possibly it may bee more to your comfort than some solemne holy practices in your own Church have been, because in receiving here you must exercise some extraordinary internall graces, you having many temptations to the contrary even to disown, neglect, nay despise them, which are true members of Christ and who some of the greatest and best men of our owne have countenanced.

"Consider what I have said and 'the Lord grant you an understanding in all things.' 2 Tim. ii, 7."

"DREAM BEFORE GOING TO MERINDOLE.

"31 *Dec.* 1678.

"Being in some concern and preparing for a journey in bad weather to Merindole, the scene of a bloody massacre of our poor brethren there, to owne them by communicating with them, the description of the last judgment in the 25th of St. Matthew v 31 and espetially v 41 '*And the King*' etc., did run in my head extreamly much that night, I can not tell whether in dream or betwixt sleepeing and wakeing, and affecting mee in some manner more than ordinary remained in my memory and left some impressions in the morning after I was thoroughly awake and about to rise, seeming to mee extreamly pertinent to the present undertaking in which I had met with many difficulties from some considerable papists to hinder mee from joining with these poor naked members and brethren of Jesus Christ. For those words '*naked and ye clothed me*' etc., and afterwards '*Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it to the least of these my brethren ye have done it unto me*,' smote my mind so thoroughly that I am much more confirmed than before that they are true members and brethren of Christ, though very poore and naked in respect of the unhappy circumstances wherein they, pore soules, are through their unhappinesse rather than their sin, and shall accordingly, by the grace of God, increase my zeale for them in supporting them against the papists."

Granville and his sister spent their last winter in France at the castle of the Duke of Lesdeguises, at Tour d' Aigues. This winter was more severe than that which they had experienced at Montpellier even, "the ground being covered with snow about a yard deep and the frost so

keen that the very wine begins to freeze and the ink in the ink-horn etc." This caused great distress and poverty amongst the poor, and called for a liberal gift of alms:—

"Having never given to the common poor folks of this village anything, nother at the doore nor in the street, I have often'd promised that, if they would have patience, I would give them somewhat before I went. Wherefore I intend today (this being the fittest time) to put three crownes into the hands of some body of Monsr. de Thoron's naming, to bee distributed as hee shall think good; to which, if my sister please to joine three crowns more, it will make sixe crownes, which is about 30 shillings, a good reasonable sume or peice of charity for us, in a strange country, to give to a papist village. But I am not of the mind to give more than six crownes, having out of the Communion money given but ten crownes to the 4 neighbouring villages of the Protestants, (which was distributed yesterday, and is publickly known here), it being according to the Apostle's rule and to edification to distinguish the Household of faith by our kindnesse to them; as it will be to edification to doe somewhat publickly alsoe for those here, tho' not so much.

"Foure crownes more given to the papist poore of Tour D'Aigues in consideration of the severe weather, which disables them from work; whereof my sister may bear what part she doth please. And five more designed to be distributed among the poore protestants, espetially those of Cabriere, La Met, S. Martin, and Pepin, which with what we gave before Christmas, makes 18 crownes, besides one given to Mn. Izard on New Yeare's Day, and three some while befofe."

CHAPTER VIII.

APPARENTLY Dennis Granville left Provence about the beginning of June, 1679; at any rate on the 14th of that month we find in a fragment of a diary that he was at St. Germains, watching the Royal Family at supper.

"St. Germains, *June* 14, 1679.

"Last night I saw the King at supper with the Queen at his left hand and the Dolphin at the end at his right. The King sat at the side of the table, as our own King. What was most peculiar was that three ladies were permitted to sit by the Queen, and the drink was given to King, Queen, and Dolphin on . . . . glasses of wine and water, and they filled for themselves without kneeling. The Cardinal of Bullion was at the King's right hand and two or three Bishops by him, in short cloaks and suitanelles, and one of them was, as I was told, Monsieur l' Eveque de Condom, but I could not tell which. It was ten of the clock before the King came out to sup, and sat above an houre. The table was as long and broad as 6 Spanish tables placed double, which was covered, much after the English fashion, by such plate of the King, Queen, and Dolphin, there was a . . . of silver put down on one half of the napkin and covered with other half. The meal was sent in small dishes, whereof there were a great many, and seemed very well dress'd. The King, Queen, and Dolphin ate very heartily, and not with better grace than the King of England. There were four services. The first consisted of fricassies and ragouts; the second of severall sorts

of rost meates; the 3rd of tarts and gellys and blanche-manges; and the fourth was the dissert, consisting of three great pyramids of fruit and sweet meats, and some silver salvers of other things between.

"The Court was in mourning then for the Elector of Bavaria. The King wore purple, the Dolphin black and the Queen and ladies in crape gowns. Among all the ladies I did not observe one handsome. She that was most tollerable (the Comtesse de Guiche) was put behind the Queen. The Queen had a rich necklace of 2 or 3 rows of very great pearles, two or three jewels of diamond and pearle on her breast. But with all her jewels and fine white and red I did not like her mine, [mien] being far from handsome. But the King's was very good, if hee had but good teeth.

"The Dolphin is very like father and mother. The carvers and other officers stand on the outside of the table, but I did not see them carve. They gave the King drink on a silver salver, and reach it to him over the table, which the King takes out of their hands and fills for him selfe. There was on the salver a glass cruet of water; another of wine with a glasse; and I observed that the King filled the water on the wine. There were present there at the table, which took I notice of, Monseignr. le Marechal de Bellefont, Monsieur . . . . premier maitre d'hotel, Madame la Duchesse de . . . , Madame la Marechale de la Mothe, La Countesse de Guiche, Monsieur le Comte de St. Geran, Monsieur le Cardinal de Bouillon."

Whilst in Paris Granville wrote the following letter to a friend whose name is not given, with vows of repentance as "a poor weak miserable and sinful wretch" for the "inexcusable sins of his later years.":—

FROM ARCHDEACON GRANVILLE TO AN UNKNOWN FRIEND.

"Paris, *June* 24, 1679.

"My Deare Friend,—It is now about twenty yeares agoe y^t^ I made a publicke declaration to y^e^ world of y^e^ forsaking y^e^ sins and follies of my youth. And it is not much aboue twenty days agoe y^t^ I haue made a new declaration to my family and some especiall friends, of renouncing the much more inexcusable ones of my riper years. Notwithstanding my egregious trifling with God and mine owne soul, and notorious scandalizing my Brother, I haue not (blessed bee God) yet with y^e^ dog and y^e^ sow returned to my *vomit* and my *wallowing*. Noe more shall I (I trust in God) returne to y^e^ worst of my habits (for y^e^ last 20 yeares) of squandering away my stocke of *money*, time, and *grace*, though I may chance to come as short of what I doe now anew purpose to my selfe, and y^e^ world may expect from mee, as I did then. As y^e^ world did never see mee, I praise y^e^ Almighty, such an one in all respects as I had been before my first declaration, soe will they never see mee (I haue some ground of confidence) such as I haue been before my second. *This I solemnely promise all, and you in particular, in y^e^ name and strength of my Saviour*, though I know my selfe now a little too well (though but in a very small degree) to giue you soe much assurance of what I doe now, as I may haue giuen some of what I did then. To this effect I haue talked of late to my Brothers, Dr. Brevint, Dr. Bury and his Lady, (whome I haue desired to lay up my letters before God as witnesses against mee), and I thinke you still too faithfull a friend to mee (whatever you may imagine to y^e^ contrary) not to do y^e^ same thing to you, and desire

y^e^ same from you. I haue ranked you last because I concluded you would giue mee y^e^ least credit, having y^e^ justest ground of suspition of mee, and this hath been like to prove a temptation not to haue don it at all to your selfe. My deare Friend, pitty mee and pray for mee; I am a poor, weake, miserable and sinfull wretch, but not like to bee soe *wonderfully vnjust and troublesome* to y^e^ world, your selfe, or mine owne selfe as I haue been since our first acquaintance. I will endeavour to *pay you all*, if you please to *haue but a little patience with mee.* Raise not in your selfe any greate expectations of mee however, least I deceive you. My protestations are not positive, but negative; I doe not promise you y^t^ you shall ever see mee what I ought to bee (though I will strongly endeavour it), or what you may reasonably desire mee, *but y^t^ you will never see mee what you haue* seen mee. I praye marke my words y^t^ you may not carelessely reproach mee when you chance to observe mee (as I feare you will very soon and very often), not onely to *trip* but to *fall.* Reprove me as often as you please, nay *reproach* mee sometimes when there shall bee just cause; I haue learned (God be thank'd) a little to brave both, but thincke y^t^ either of them when vnseasonable or vnnecessary will be noe more advantagious then pleasing. And which is all the truth y^t^ I can find (after 20 yeares searching) in Mr. Elis his character of mee, that I should bee oftener minded of my vertues then told of my failings. Such as I am, my deare Friend, you will speedily see (wee leave Paris next weeke and a yaught is sent for). Would God y^t^ hee would make some such alteration in mee between this and London, as y^e^ sad circumstances of y^e^ Church and Kingdome may require. Some considerable change there is, I can assure you, both in my body, head, and heart, more then there was possibly

in Aprill 1659, I pray God I may not deceive my selfe any longer, but this is my comfort, y^t^ hee y^t^ I trust in will never deceive mee.

"The reasons why I waved correspondence with you, and haue never writ to any other in England, but upon absolute necessity, is not the businesse of this letter; I leave that to bee discussed in our personall conversation. I pray giue my service to Mr. Davies, I love you both, and well remember what you haue done for mee, and may at last convince you y^t^ I am really your friend, as most besides your selfe doe thinke mee. Farewell, Oremus in vicem vt salvemur. I doe here with y^e^ renewall of my allegiance to God, renew my friendship with you (which I hope may for y^e^ future bee to better purpose notwithstanding all failings in our naturall temper), and assure, and reassure you, y^t^ I am, and ever will bee

"My deare Friend,

"Yours most faithfully and affectionately,

"De. Grenvile.

"Keep and produce on occasion this record against mee."

"Some more particular Reflections on those Subjects recommended to my Consideration last Pentecost.

"1. *Concerning Worldly Distractions.*

"It is the vnhappinesse of y^e^ most godly and devout to bee lyable, more or lesse, to such like impediments; as long as wee carry about vs a fraile nature, and a corrupt heart, wee should be inveigled (if wee doe not run our selves) into the snares of this great enimy of our soules, *The World*. It

is y^e^ duty of a Christian to haue some regard to his Concernes Temporall, which hee cannot neglect without sin. To mind ones worldly affaires then is not blame worthy, prouided our care of them is not immoderate, ouer sollicitous, or carking, such as our Saviour condemnes in 6th of St. Matthew, v. 25, to y^e^ end of that chapter. Neither to bee distracted and hindred in our Christian course sometimes by y^e^ thoughts and consideration of them, is our sin, soemuch as our vnhappinesse. If wee faithfully and sincerely endeavour to moderate our care for y^e^ things of this world, according to y^e^ rule of our Lord and his Apostles, going about our businesses in God's feare, and doeing all things in subordination to God and religion, we ought not to bee too much discouraged, if wee find our selues vpon serious reflection, now and then imposed on by a false world and our treacherous hearts, soe as to bee drawne into some acts of immoderate loue of y^e^ creature (which is allwaies attended on with distractions) to y^e^ cooling of y^e^ loue of God in our soules. There is noe one free from such changes in deuotion, sometimes warme, sometimes coole, sometimes composed, sometimes distracted. The world is a mighty enemy, and it is impossible for vs to bee at a constant warre with it, with out being often foiled. It is enough to support vs, to consider that y^e^ Captaine of our Saluation (vnder whose banner wee fight) is more mighty, and hath promised that wee shall at last ouercome, if wee doe not fling away our armes, and yeild our selues vp captiues to y^e^ enimy. Soe glorious a victory at y^e^ last will make a mends for all y^e^ trouble of y^e^ most tedious and painfull warre. Noe reason at all then haue wee to languish and faint in any of our Spirituall Conflicts, though some times worsted by our enimies. The duty then most incumbent on vs is to suspect our selues, (and accordingly

to search our hearts) whether wee doe not giue our enimy an advantage against vs, and by exceeding the bounds and limits which Christ hath sett vs, put our selues into y^e^ power of our enimies. If soe, it behoues vs timely to retire, least wee become a prey. That is, euery good Christian (when hee finds his temporall concernes clash with his spirituall) should consider with himselfe whether hee doth not multiply his temporall cares and businesses beyond what y^e^ circumstances of his life and calling doth require. If soe it lyes in our owne power to prevent such trouble as wee complaine of; and what wee can remedy our selues is noe just ground of complaint. It is certain that a moderate and a christian care for y^e^ things of this world, is consistent with our christian duty to God, and will proue noe impediment thereto. When Christians therefore find their worldly mannegery very injurious to their spirituall progresse, it is to bee feared, that they doe either graspe at too large a share of y^e^ things of y^e^ world; or else too innordinately affect what they doe possesse. Distraction will allwaies bee y^e^ consequence of either. In much buisnesse there is allwayes much care and trouble and disappointment, and where there is much disappointment, there will allwayes follow vexation of spirit, and distractions. Likewise when wee doe innordinately affect any thing wee haue; such affection will allwayes bee attended on by distraction and trouble. If wee are depriued thereof, (which often happens) wee grieue to our great disturbance. And if wee are not depriued thereof, yet wee are disquieted with feares of what is (as all things are) subject to change.

"There is noe way then to true peace of mind, but true and hearty mortification of our spirits, by weaning our selues from desires, either of too much of this disceitfull world, or ouer affecting and doating on what wee haue.

" 2. *Concerning Coldnesse and Deadnesse in Exercises of Deuotion.*

" This is likewise very incident to good sincere Christians; there is noe body equally deuout and warme at all times. *Sensible Devotion* is a very incertaine thing, and depends much on y^e^ naturall complexion and temper of y^e^ body. Where wee haue it let vs thanke God for itt, and make good vse of it, incouraging our selues from thence to proceed in y^e^ waies of vertue. When wee haue it not, let vs not disturb our selves ouer much for want of it, for wee may haue howeuer *rationall Deuotion* which is many times more pleasing to God and proffitable to our spirits, for this is occasionned by y^e^ exercise of y^e^ superiour and more noble faculties of y^e^ soule, when y^e^ other only by y^e^ affections which are much influenced by y^e^ body. If our confessions of sin then are accompanied with strong indignation and resolution against it, tho' not with teares, it is very proffitable. And soe are our *prayers* and *praises*, tho' void of any sensible sweetnesse, if y^e^ first bee accompanied with a sense of our wants, and earnest desires of supply; and y^e^ latter with y^e^ like sense of God's mercy and purposes to endeavour to liue suitably to them.

" And this is the Deuotion which wee ought cheifly to trust to. God depriues vs of y^e^ other often for twoe reasons. First, when wee are too fond and greedy thereof, becoming in some manner carnall and sensuall in our desires of itt, seeking our pleasure therein more than our proffitt; which is to bee had more in the other deuotion spoken of. God thus instructing vs to seeke after and relye on y^e^ other, more than this which is soe variable.

" Secondly, where wee rest too much in y^e^ bare externall performance of deuotions; in y^e^ very thing done, more

than y^e^ end or manner of doing itt. God takes from vs all pleasure in y^e^ vse of such meanes to hinder vs from soe resting in them, and to draw vs to y^e^ consideration of the end of all such performances; namely y^e^ exercise of God's grace in our soules, which is allwayes more pleasing to God than any labour of y^e^ knee or y^e^ lip: to this purpose pervse often Mr. Comber's meditation on Joel 21, 13.

[Endorsed:—] "Paper about Distractions and
"Deadnesse in Deuotion.
"Sept. 1679."

The beginning of the following November found him back in London. Having carefully prepared "a draught of his whole life by way of confession," he sought absolution from Dr. Gunning, the Bishop of Chichester, who appears to have been held in high esteem at this time as a spiritual guide. Thus we find Evelyn writing as follows:—"1673, March 29th. I carried my son to the Bishop of Chichester, that learned and pious man Dr. Peter Gunning, to be instructed by him before he received the Holy Sacrament, when he gave him most excellent advice, which I pray God may influence and remain with him so long as he lives; and oh that I had been so blessed and instructed when first I was admitted to that sacred ordinance!" (Diary II., 82).

Granville writes:—"I did the evening before the celebration (Nov. 9th) unburthen my conscience to this good Bishop (my spirituall guide), and submitted my soule to his test and examination, receiving after the same a solemne absolution on my knees, to my great comfort; a thing which I had long desired with great anxiety, fearing that the Bishop, my first ghostly father, or my selfe, should have died before I had had this blessed opportunity; for which

I praise God's Name with all my soule. *Gloria Patri et Filio etc.*"

The next day he received "the Blessed Sacrament at the hands of good Bishop Gunning in his owne Chappell, (the last consecrated place I was in when I left England, and the first that I paid any homage to God in (in London) after my returne from France. I had much comfort, blessed be His Name, from the daye's celebration, and was much affected with the greatest part of the whole services, more particularly with the 1st lesson, being the 2nd of Habbakuck, and the Epistle out of the 6th of the Ephesians, on the which the Bishop preached, very much, (I blesse my God) to my edification, causing in mee a great sense of mine owne weaknesse and failings in using the spirituall armour of a Christian, and I doe now accordingly acknowledge my sin in trifling with God and mine owne soule for these 20 yeares past, since I listed my selfe anew under Christ's banner, and doe here record a new my solemne promise and vow to God that I made this day at His Holy Table of endeavouring better things. I am weake, a very infant, but having been supported wonderfully hitherto by the mighty power of the Lord, I will trust in the same, and wait patiently for His strengthening of mee and carrying mee through my spirituall conflicts with flesh and bloud and the powers of darknesse. O Thou Captain of my salvation look on mee and pitty mee, poor, weak, faint-hearted souldier, who have often turned my back in the day of battell, tho' not perfectly (I blesse Thy Name) deserted my colours, and preserve mee through Thy Mighty power etc."

In this spirit Archdeacon Granville returned to his duties at Durham. Writing from Sedgefield (December 5th,

1679) he says:—"At my first returne I did mind the voice of the Church in the Psalmes, and the voice of God in the Lessons, in a particular manner, watching for somewhat suitable to my state, labouring under many feares and much distrust and diffidence; and it pleased God, by the Churche's care to put into my hands a fit forme of devotion Ps. 27, *The Lord is my light and my salvation etc.*, (fit to inspire courage), and to bring to my ears the eleaventh of the Hebrews, concerning the mighty power of faith, of all things most seasonable for my consideration, who am, I feare, notoriously peccant in not exercising and imploying my faith. I beseech God to deliver mee from all my past guilt, and strengthen my faith soe at last that I may remove all those mountains of difficulties which haue long discouraged mee. Amen."

He at once set himself to the task of urging upon his clergy greater conformity to the rubrics and canons of the Book of Common Prayer, lamenting their "notorious unfaithfulnesse in loosing the Churche's grounds," especially in the matter of Daily Services, Weekly Celebrations, Catechizing, the Public Adminstration of Baptism, the Visitation of the Sick, the care of the Whole. "Thus preposterous are wee," he writes, "in our obedience and conformity, wherein wee pride ourselves, to the exclusion of some honester and more sincere men than our selves, who would haue given as loud an assent and consent to our Common Prayer Book as wee had, had they expected to have been indulged halfe soe far as most of us indulge ourselves, to the exaltation of our own prudence, contempt of our Mother, and scandall of our brethren. And of all nonconformists, I confesse, I have most indignation against these that can accept of a fat benefice and preferment upon pretences of conforming and giving assent and consent to

our order, bitterly inveighing against all dissenters from our rule, which they most scandalously neglect and contemne themselves, nay sometimes even persecuting well-meaning though misguided soules, by vertue of the Common Prayer Book, which they themselves will not observe, nay scarce ever consideringly read, tho' our first Reformers thought it a fitt subject for their study. God of His Infinite Mercy dispell that black cloud which hangs over our heads, which wee of the Church have cheifly contributed to the contracting of. Amen."

All the letters and papers extant belonging to the following year, 1680, have reference to his clerical duties and the state of the Church. Some of these are of sufficient interest to be quoted.

"METHOD OF PREPARING THE YOUTH FOR THE "SACRAMENT AT EASTER.

"EASINGTON, *Feb.* 29. $16\frac{79}{80}$. being Ember week in Lent.

"1. To require all the young people that desire to receive at Easter to come before me the 1st week in Lent to give in their names and receive orders in generall how to order themselves etc.

"2. To order all those that can reade, and are able, to buy a *Bible, Common Prayer Book* and *The Whole Duty of Man.*

"3. To teach them how to use their Bible and the other bookes.

"4. To injoine every one during Lent to attend the Church (besides Sundayes) Wensdayes and Fridayes mornings and Saturdayes in the afternoon.

"5. To demand of everyone whether they can say the words of their Catechisme.

"6. To explain it to them in my house after morning prayer every Wensday and Friday morning and Saturday afternoon for the space of an halfe houre.

"7. After they are insnared into a willingnesse to come, to begin to ask some questions; 1st easy ones, then more difficult, till they give an evidence of their improvement.

"8. To demand whether they acknowledge the Creed, Decalogue and Pater, the rule of their Faith etc., requiring every one to give an expresse and audible answer, and minding them of the solemnesse of such promise.

"9. To enquire whether they have been confirmed, and to engage them to come on summons, if not.

"10. To goe to prayer with them altogether (once at least) in the Chappell, pronouncing an absolution and benediction.

"11. To advise them concerning a spirituall guide.

"12. To informe them how to behave themselves during the Celebration and at all times of Service Divine.

"13. To caution them against Popery and Schisme.

"14. To exhort to diligent attendance (throughout their lives) on God's worship, Sundays and Holydayes at least, at greatest distance. Wensdayes and Fridayes when within a mile of the church, and dayly when in a towne where there is dayly prayer, without any lawfull impediment.

"15. To advise to make conscience of having prayers in their families (when Housekeepers), reading of the Scriptures, and catechizing their children: and forcing promises from every one; minding them of the danger of *hypocrisy.*

"THINGS TO BE TOUCHED ON IN INTERROGATING "THE CLERGY.

"1. No omission of any known rule without any approbation of the Ordinary.

"2. All disputes to be discoursed in my Lord's next Synod.

"3. The Clergy and Officers can do much without the Archdeacon, but the Archdeacon little without them.

"4. Visitatio *Ecclesiatim.*

"5. Warrant for 12d. a Sunday.

"6. Non compliance opposition:—Book of Canons.

"GRIEVANCES AND ABUSES IN THE CLERGY OF THE "CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

"Durham 30. Paper 9th.

"1st. The door of ordinacion (as the Protestant churches abroad conceive) is in reality made too wide, not so much by our Church as by our Churchmen.

"2ndly. Ministers neglect of the Rule of the Common Prayer-Book, after a publick declaration of conformity in the Church, having given their assent and consent thereto.

"3dly. The sufferance of our Convocations and Diocesan Synods to fall into contempt, by Clergy's negligence to appear in person at them; or, if they do appear, doing no businesse at all, when there is so very much to doe.

"4th. Bishops seldom consulting, in matters of great importance in their Dioceses, the Deans and Prebendaries of their Cathedrall Churches, which are design'd, and ought to be their standing Councell in all difficult matters.

"5thly. The non-residence of Deans and Prebendaries in their Churches, i.e. not taking care to have a certain number, according to the Canon, there upon the place.

"6thly. The neglect of exact order and observation of the Rubrick in Cathedrall Churches, from which all others are to take their measures; and more particularly the scandalous neglect of the chief of all our Rubricks, namely the celebration of the Holy Communion on every Sunday at the least, not observed in more than 2 Cathedralls[1] and two or three Chappels in all England.

"7thly. The poverty of some Ministers, and despicable salleries allowed them by Impropriatours or others, in parishes where there are impropriations, to the great contempt of the Clergy and encrease of Papists and Sectaries, as we have sad experience of in some places of this Diocese, namely in Lanchester, Chester, Darlington, St. Andrews Auckland, Hartinpoole etc.

"8thly. Clergymen's rendring themselves very contemptible by mean conversations and servile employments, scarcely distinguishing themselves from the laity so much as by their habit, which are strictly taken care for by the Church.

"9. Gentlemen's treating their Chaplaines as servantts rather than ministers; the dignified Cleargy not treating with due respect the younger.

"Durham, Novembris 30, 1680.

"A whole week's prayer and praises are without all doubt to bee preferred before one Sunday Sermon, and one Sunday Sacrament in the Cathedrall, offered up to God by a whole body of the Clergy, is to be preferred before

[1] Oxford and Worcester.

both. Great is the guilt then of Parish Priests who neglect Dayly Prayer, and of Deans and Prebends who neglect the Weekly Sacrament. I pray God in due time make them both, especially in this Diocesse, sensible thereof. Both these duties are injoyned by Rubrick and all Clergy in a manner sworn to perform them. Certain it is that these Rubricks conteine the most substantial part of God's worship in the Church of England, and which would be, if restored, our best fence against our feares and God's threatenings. When God awakes our Churchmen into a sense of these duties, I shall hope for better times."

To this is added the following memorandum :—

"Mem. That I did this day send by Mr. Davison, my officiall, to Mr. Dean and the Chapter of Durham a proposall in writing, concerning the revival of that important, though neglected, Rubrick of Weekly Sacrament, blessing God for stirring me up to so good a work."

And from this time onwards Archdeacon Granville set himself, heart and soul, to bring about the restoration of the Weekly Sacrament, not only in his own Cathedral at Durham, but in all Cathedrals, Collegiate Churches, and Colleges. To this end he wrote letters on the subject to several of the Bishops then assembled in Convocation at Westminster, which he requested his brother-in-law, Mr. Isaac Basire, to present for him, and he wrote out the following "heads of instruction" for him "for his assistance in the management of my present design."

"1st. That he is desired to use his utmost prudence and zeal in promoting this good work wherein I am ingaged, making use of any additionary means which his own discretion shall direct him unto.

"2dly. That he would consider well and study the

Rubrick that requires all Priests and Deacons to communicate weekly. He will find it at the end of the Communion Service.

"3dly. That he would as my deputy, in the behalf of me and some considerable honest Clergy, propound to the Bishops to whome I write, they being now assembled in Convocation (and doing some businesse, as we hear) the reviving of this important Rubrick, as also that of the Dayly Prayer, by some recommendation to their Diocesses, by way of letter or otherwise.

"4. That as the stubbornesse of the age will not bear the reviving of discipline, so the profaneness of it will by no means bear the non-revivance of such necessary devotion as publike prayers and Sacraments, the disuse of our spiritual armour being now at this time, considering our circumstances, more than ever unpardonable.

"5. That he will shew to each of those Bishops to whome I write the copy of my proposal to the Dean and Chapter together with the breaches of Rubricks thereunto annexed; desiring their judgment, whether there are any things therein censureable for imprudence, errour, breach of duty, or unmannerlinesse.

"6. That he would not be shy in his application to these Bishops, they being my especial friends.

"7. That he would enquire of them whether there be any other Cathedrals in England but their own (where I presume this Rubrick is observed constantly) and that of Worster, that keeps up the weekly celebration of the Sacrament.

"8. That he will be wary, when he discourses with the Bishops, in owning any opposition that I am like to meet with from the Dean and Prebends other then that from my boistrous brother (Cartwright) because it may make

them the more backward in giving me their countenance, if they chance to be mov'd any way by a carnal principal, as the best men in some things sometimes are. You see I act craftily tho' I hope honestly.

"9. That you would intimate this my honest design to my brother Bath, desiring him (if he should think fit) to invite two or 3 of these Bishops some day to dinner, they being his good friends, and that he would give you leave to take that opportunity of delivering your letters and moving my businesse in his presence. It will be lesse pains to you, and do it the more effectually. But this I propose only by the by. I do not lay much stresse there on it, because it may not be accomplished.

"10. That in discoursing with these Bishops hee would take occasion of wiping of the rumours they may chance to heare of the Archdeacon's desperate imprudence, and being a dangerous man to be patronised, but without telling any lies for his friend.

"11. That hee would ask the Bishops' judgment of my proceeding with Captaine Tempest about his child.

"12. That they would please, each of them, to afford me a line or twoe, with some of their best arguments for the Weekly Sacrament in Cathedralls and Dayly Prayer in all Churches."

With these instructions he writes Mr. Basire a letter, from which the following is an amusing extract:—

"Do not bogle at this good work; believe me it is one of the best of my whole life, and which I shall never desist from prosecuting, for I am persuaded in conscience that I cannot in anything more than in this shew my true and unfeigned love to God's worship established in the Church

of England. And through this work, by the grace and strength of God, will I goe, in occasioning Weekly Sacraments in more Cathedrals than our own, or I will make a filthy bustle before I dye among the Clergy of the nation, as contemptible a mushrump and silly ignoramus as some do make me, yet you know I can gain a point (by my own contrivance) upon a great Bishop and high and mighty Dean and Chapter. Honest Martin Leuther did not incounter and reform so great a part of the whole world by his great learning, strength of brain, or robustuous temper, (for all which he was very notable) but by his strong faith, firm resolution, and his great sincerity in the cause of God; and I have lesse reason, I am sure, to despair of going through my work than he had of his. Tho' I am no pretender to learning or strength of brain, yet I will pretend to some degree of sincerity and good meanings, not doubting but that God, Who can by weak things confound the mighty, and by things that are not bring to nought things that are, can carry me through the most difficult of my attempts, which are not to reform a Church but Churchmen, in bringing them up to a rule which, blessed be God, needs no reformation."

At Durham Granville's proposal met with opposition. The certain "boistrous brother" referred to in the Heads of Instruction, Dr. Cartwright (afterwards Bishop of Chester), "saith it is not prudentiall at this time to begin such innovations." Whereupon Granville consults the Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Fell) whether his action is really imprudent, or whether the objection is "only such which is commonly made use of as a bug-bear to fright people from worthy undertakings." "Tho' this is no seasonable time, I know, for innovations, yet I am sure it is most

seasonable for the reformation of all our lives, and this that I am at is of that nature, and I am sure must tend very much thereunto. Tho' to stile a clear duty injoyn'd by our Common Prayer Booke, (tho' never so much neglected) an innovation be a weak and ridiculous way of arguing, yet it hath scared me into (what I did not at first design) the present trouble which I am about to give your Lordship and some other of my ghostly fathers and friends, for their sense in this matter."

The following is Dr. Fell's reply:—

FROM THE BISHOP OF OXFORD TO ARCHDEACON GRANVILLE.

"HONOURED SIR.—There is, I thinke, soe plaine obligation for Weekly Communions in Cathedrall Churches, that you will not find any that shall contradict it. If some of your fraternity differ with you upon the point of expedience, they, I presume, will admit of an amicable debate, and either give or receive conviction. In the most private parochial Church, if there should bee a number of persons whose devotion should prompt them to desire Weekly Communions, I thinke noe Minister would offer to refuse them. The whole difficulty to my apprehension rests upon the probability of having such a constant attendance on the duty, as may support the dignity of it. If this can be procured, all other objections will bee of little moment. The impendent judgments on the Church and Nation, were there noe other arguments, would direct to a closer walking with God, and more exemplary acts of piety. My constant abode in this place lets me not know what is done in other Churches. Peace is soe valuable a thing, that if you fore-

see any hazard of losing it, it were better to attend a calmer season. With my prayers for the continuance of your health and blessing upon your endeavours, I remaine, Honoured Sir,

"Your affectionate friend and brother,
"Jo Oxon.

"Dec. 9.
"For the Honble. Dr. Denis Grenvill
"Archdeacon of Durham, at Durham
"these Present.
"Post Pd.
"forward 2d."

The only other cathedral besides Oxford where a weekly celebration prevailed at this time was Worcester, where it had been brought about by the influence of Mr. Barnabas Oley, Vicar of Great Gransden, and a prebend of Worcester Cathedral. He had had the courage of publishing George Herbert's "Country Parson" (one of Dennis Granville's favourite books, which he always recommended to the clergy as their guide), in 1652, when such a work would be anything but acceptable, and was a striking figure among the clergy of his day. To him Granville wrote for advice and encouragement in his undertaking. "Some argue," he writes, "that it is not becoming any one Cathedrall to reproach the others, and the King's Chaple; it being not practised in above two Cathedralls in England. But by the same rule if a master of a family be a wicked man, the servant must be so likewise, for fear of reproaching his master." Oley replies, "The Lord hath blessed the northern parts and the Church of Durham with a Bishop and an Archdeacon chosen out of the nobles of the land, who, by the advantage of their high birth, may credit

religion, the offices and practices thereof, and persuade men that they bee worthy of theire reverence when they see great and good men to undertake the management of them. Great Sir, good luck have you with your honour, with your office, with your attempt at reforming that ἄτοπον μέγα that the Lord's Day should have no Lord's Supper, that is, be made a fasting day. The Puritans dare not deny that it was primitive practice to celebrate the Lord's Supper every Lord's Day. And I never read any Protestant that blamed the Church of Rome for the quotidian celebration of the Sacrament, but for the single private Masse, and the sacrilege of the Cup from the layitie. Sir, it is a question to bee asked, is my lord Bishop of Durham of your party and minde? If hee bee, meethinks you should carry it on clear and cleverly. It is uncharitable to suppose that hee is not. But if——— then your way to win him must bee to get my lord of Ely (Bishop Gunning) to write to him (or to you, Sir) the reasons that forc't him upon a thing which some of the vicinage term innovation. . . . I was thinking to have told you in a fitter place above that were I in any great protestant city where the Lord's Supper was celebrated, according to the Divine order of the Church of England, every day, I should not dare to be absent from it but upon just occasion of great hindrance. Mr. Thorndike of BM (in a little book of his about Forbearance etc.) has expressed just indignation against Presbyterians, for being carefull to have two sermons every Lord's Day, and Communions but thrice a year, and askes what good do sermons, if they do not prepare both preacher and people to more frequent participation thereof. Surely neither preacher nor hearer be yet perfect in their several ranks of Christians that come not oftener to the Lord's Table then thrice a year. When I have told you that my lord of St. Davids

(Bishop Thomas) our good Dean's, bringing in the Weekly celebration, is not improsperous, I have not heard any one open a mouth against it, or mumble at it. This day we were present at Communion one Dean who did administer, two Prebendaries, four Quire men Peticanons, preists; and one Lay Clerk and 2 vergers etc. and others, an acceptable company for number and I hope accepted by the Lord, whose death we did commemorate. Yet must I confess for the City a few in number, in respect of their number. There be some women that are constant weekly communicants. And every prebendary (when there) comes every Lord's Day."

Granville received warm sympathy from his old friend, Dr. Beveridge, Rector of St. Peter's, Cornhill, where the weekly communion had been commenced, and at which the congregation increased every week. He had "seldom less than four score, sometimes six or seven score communicants and a great many apprentices who came there every Lord's Day with great devotion." Dr. Beveridge also informed him that it was "intended to have the weekly sacrament, when St. Pauls was rebuilt, in that cathedral." The Dean of Canterbury also wrote saying that they were likely soon to set one up in their church "which will have great influence on all the Cathedralls in the Kingdom."

Granville waited on the aged Archbishop of York on this subject but apparently did not receive much encouragement. He, therefore, urges his friend, Dr. Comber, one of the prebends of York Minster, to assist him in the most strenuous terms.

"To returne to my old topick of pushing on the weekly sacrament, you and I are more particularly concerned in

this good worke than any other clergymen that I know of in the whole province, and I am certaine that it is the expectation of severall clergy and devout people in these parts that we shall do more than others. You are looked upon to bee the greatest champion for the Common Prayer-Booke in the whole country, nay perchance in all England, and I am considered as one of the more exact observers of the rubrick and sticklers for conformity; and I dare without pride or vanity owne that I am a hearty lover of the booke, and have in mee some innate love of order. Really Dr. Comber this is a greate and excellent worke, and will doe God more service than all your past labours or my past indeavours since our first comeing into the ministry. It will haue a wonderful influence over all the North, and shame the other Cathedralls into the like practice, which, accompanied with such a circular letter as my lord of Canterbury intends to send to the bishops of his own province, would in a powerful manner preach to all the inferior clergy not only frequent communions but exact conformity. Without doubt these means that are of Christ's owne institution and the incomparable established order of our own Church (the most incomparable and unexceptionable institution in all Christendome) are the most probable means to revive religion devotion conformity and loyalty in the land."

He also wrote to Dr. Samwaies, another Prebend of York, the following letter, which may be given *in extenso*.

FROM ARCHDEACON GRANVILLE TO DR. PETER SAMWAIES.

"REVEREND SIR.—I make bold to give you the trouble of this letter, not only to returne my thankfull acknowledg-

ments for your kind reception of me at Bedell, but also to beg the continuance of your friendship, and more particularly that you would give me the liberty of communication of thought sometimes by way of letter. I covet much the acquaintance of good and learned men, and tho' I cannot bragg of any measure of goodnesse or learning, yet I dare own my self to be one that is heartily devoted to the service of our Mother the Church of England. You will not deny me therefore, I hope, some of your councell and advice, to help me through the difficulties which I usually meet withal, in the execution of my office, which indeed are not a few. While our worthy friend, of precious memory, Dr. Basire, was alive, I had no necessity to send out of the Diocesse for resolution of doubts. He was my oracle, and as willing as he was able to help me upon all extraordinary exegencies. I feel, God knows, the want of soe learned pious and faithfull a friend, to the great disturbance of the comfortable discharge of my function. To supply this want I complain of, I am seeking some friends at a distance, and I hope you will vouchsafe to be one of the number. The chief favour I shall beg of you at present is, to let me know your thoughts as to these few queries here enclosed. I desire you to write *Aff:* or *Neg:* under each of them. I have been always so hearty a lover of the order of our Church, that I have esteemed the Rubrick too sacred to live in the wilful breach thereof, especially as to that important rule relating to the *Juge Sacrificium* which our present threatenings call loudly for. I have laboured all along to bring this duty in reputation among my Brethren, and have injoyned all Ministers that were seated in populous towns or villages to read the Church Prayers, according to the Rubrick, daily in their Churches, and others that had not the same conveniency, to read them in

their families, but I have met with much backwardnesse in the Clergies' complyance. They are not only contented to sit down in their inexcusable sloth, but censure my well meaning zeal for desperate imprudence. While my Brother Archdeacon was alive and assisted me with his own and Curates' examples, who were punctuall observers of this Rubrick, I had some success in prevailing on some Ministers to accompany me that now have deserted me, and I fear God too, in this neglect of their duty. 'Tis a great grief to my soul to discern so much coldnesse in the discharge of so special a part of the Priests' office, and I looke on it (this negligence being more common elsewhere than among us) as a bad prognostick to our Church. However I dare not use my authority by way of compulsion, they having gotten one argument frequently in their mouths which I cannot tell how to answer, namely, that they can with safer consciences omit the Daily Prayers than our Cathedral (and indeed most Cathedrals in England) omit the Weekly Sacrament. Upon consideration I have concluded it impossible to get over this rubb, without the reviving of that Rubrick which injoynes all Priests and Deacons in Cathedrals, Collegiate Churches, and Colleges, to communicate at least weekly, and accordingly I have made lately an attempt to do it, in recommending it to our Dean and Chapter. I pray assist me with your earnest prayers to God for His blessing on this considerable undertaking, and that you will afford me some of your best arguments to promote it. I do not despair of successe at length, but it will be a work of some time and difficulty. One great hindrance to this design is that your Cathedral, (our Metropoliticall Church) gives no better example. Some are very tender of reproaching her in beginning so considerable a change. Would to God that yourself and

all members of that Body would take it seriously into consideration, and with the advice of my lord's Grace of York redresse this errour which is very pernicious to the whole Province in its consequencies. Sir, I beg pardon of you and your whole Church for my bold reflection. It proceeds from an honest zeal to have our religion consist, as it ought, in more Prayers, Praises, and Sacrifice at God's Altar.

"Earnestly begging your prayers and continuance of
"your kindnesse, I rest, Reverend Sir,
"Your most faithfull servant and unworthy
"brother,
"DENIS GRENVILLE.

"PS. I desire to know whether you have in your Cathedral at York sermons on all Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent and Advent, as I have heard there hath been heretofore."

[Endorsed:—"Copy of a Letter to Dr. Samois Rector of Bedell Decembr. 6th, '80."].

"QUÆRIES CONCERNING THE LITURGY.

(enclosed in the above).

"Durham, Decembr. 1st 1680.

"1st Qu: Is not the Common Prayer Booke the rule of our conformity?

"2dly. Are not all Ministers under a sacred obligation punctually to observe its rule, without omission or addition?

"3dly. Are not all Clergymen in Cathedral Churches under greater ties of an exacter conformity than other of their brethren?

"4thly. Are not Prayer and Praises the chief part of God's worship and the end of Christian Assemblies?

"5thly. Are not those Prayers and Praises that are offered up at God's Altar the most acceptable?

"6thly. Are not those which are offered up by a whole Body of the Clergy in a Cathedrall or Colledge more considerable than those that are offered up by a private Priest and his Parishioners?

"7thly. Do not Cathedrals (these things being granted) sin in not keeping up the Churche's prescribed Service and Sacraments at God's Altar?

"OTHER QUÆRIES CONCERNING THE LITURGY.

"Durham, Decembr. 4th.

"1. Doth the wickednesse of a Priest render those Prayers which he offers up, by virtue of his priestly office, and command of publike authority, in the Church daily, invalid, more than the Sacraments?

"2. Hath not all the good Christians within his Parish, if not all within the Church of England, or the Holy Catholick Church, a certain interest in his publike prayer so offered up to God?

"3. Can a Minister then omit such publike prayers, injoined to such ends and purposes, without sin, unlesse he hath a just and lawfull impediment such as sicknesse or some urgent cause?

"4. Or can people, without just and lawfull impediment absent themselves from God's daily publike worship (if the form thereof have the stamp of lawfull authority) without sin?

"5. Ought not then the members of any Church that hath such appointed prayers, to labour to order the businesse of their calling so as to be present, as much as possible, at them?

"OTHER QUÆRIES CONCERNING THE LITURGY.

"Dec. 5 at Durham, 1680.

"1. Are not all publike devotions of Christians, assembled together in the House of God by lawfull authority in the name of Christ, offered up to God, in the communion of the Holy Catholick Church?

"2. Have not then all Christians, tho' never so farr distant, a common interest in such devotions, so long as they live in the fear of God, and are present with the assemblies of God's people in mind, tho' by reason of necessary impediments, are forc't to be absent in body?

"3. Can any Minister then whatsoever wilfully omit any office whatsoever imposed upon him by the Church whereof he is a member, and wherein many absent people have such interest, without great guilt?

"4. Nay, can a Priest (who is lawfully called and constituted an intercessour in behalf of the people to God) without consent of the Church and people whome he represents, retrench any prescribed office, more than a person imploy'd by a whole country and limited to certain instructions in order to the presenting of any petition or address in their behalf to any King or Prince, take upon him on his own head, without their privity or advice, to quash the same?

"5. Are not all Priests, then, notoriously great offenders, who take that undue liberty, which is common in the age, of offering up unto God publike prayers one day in a week, when the Church commands them twice every day, and celebrating Sacraments once a month, nay sometimes not above once a quarter, when the Church requires them, as in Cathedralls and Colleges, once a week, and

some offices of great importance injoyned once a year not offering up at all?"

In reply, Dr. Samwaies writes him "a pious, learned, and canonicall letter," full of quotations from the fathers and other authorities, in support of Granville's arguments. Dr. Comber writes a similar letter in which he also reviews a book which Granville had sent him entitled "The Constant Communicant," by Dr. Bury, Prebendary of Exeter and Rector of Exeter College, Oxford. Other correspondents on the subject were Dr. Allestree, late Provost of Eton, and the Bishop of Norwich, who substantially agreed with him, though the latter confesses that the number of communicants in Norwich was so small that there was still only a monthly communion in that Cathedral.

But Granville, in spite of all the support he received from outside, was unable to persuade his Chapter at Durham to accept his proposal. The following year he presents another address to them on the subject, as follows:—

"The proposall which I humbly tendred last year to Rev. Mr. Deane of Durham and my worthy Brethren concerning the Weekly Celebration of the Blessed Eucharist in Cathedralls, and the reasons which I then offered, being not in all respects satisfactory to Mr. Deane and certain of the Chapter, I did so far suspect the prudential part of my undertaking (finding not onely my Superiour, but some wise and learned men of the Body, of another mind) as to desist from pressing the point, till I had consulted some great and eminent Divines, and such as were the most competent judges in this case and have the reputation of great Churchmen.[1] But now having better studied the point, and being

[1] Bishops of Ely, Oxford, Norwich, Drs. Allestry, Samwayes, Bury, Comber, Mr. Oley.

thoroughly convinced of the expediency of such a practice, as well as the indispensable obligacion of the Church, I am encouraged to renew my former motion and address, beseeching them with all humility and earnestness, for God and the Church of England's sake, (which doth in an extraordinary manner need such helps and sacrifices at our altar) thoroughly to examine the reasonableness of my honest proposall, grounded upon a clear law of our Common Prayer-Book, and the practice of some Cathedralls and other places more excusable than the Church of Durham; and that if they cannot be convinced by such reasons as I shall produce in writing, strengthened by the opinion and authority of learned men (above all our contempts) that they would be pleased to condescend so far in brotherly kindness and charity, as to take the pains with their pen (I mean such as are not satisfied) to convince me of any ill consequences that can ensue their compliance with my motion, which I have long consulted betwixt God and mine own soul; and do now in his name and fear, and with great integrity of heart, tender a second time to their consideration. This is a business of great moment and so judged by some of the greatest champions of our Church, and well deserves surely so much pains as a deliberate discussion, by writing rather than by the tongue; to which talent I shall not pretend, knowing mine to be so hung that I dare not venture in debating a matter of so great moment on its management. To the pressing of this point I am invited, not onely by the letters of some Bishops and considerable Divines (which I have liberty to produce) and some expressions in the works of Mr. Thorndike, but by treatises of two learned good men Dr. Bury and Dr. Sherlock, who press the necessity of Weekly Communions much further than I do, which by happy providence have been published

this last year, as a season(able) encouragement to my honest zeal and present undertaking; about which I have busied both my head and heart for the space of sixteen years, being not able to satisfy my conscience till I have perfectly delivered my soul (which I have not yet done) towards the reformacion of the irregularity in our Cathedrall (more exemplary than any other in England in point of hospitality and conformity) in having *a Priest daily officiating at our Residence table*, and yet *none weekly at Gods Altar;* and using great zeal for a whole years festivity in our own houses, and not affording so much as the Lord's Supper, on the Lord's Day, in God's; thereby failing (as high as our reputacion is for conformity) in a main and substantial Rubrick of our Book; the observation whereof would be of great importance to my Jurisdiction, not onely for the reasons mentioned in my last year's paper, but because it would be an excellent president and encouragement for many considerable places to come up to Monthly Celebrations of the Communion; which surely is desirable in all great and populous towns, and which I know I could effect if the Cathedrall came up to its rules of having weekly ones.

"DENIS GRENVILE."

Granville was strongly supported by Dr. Brevint, who, though unable to attend the Chapter Meeting on account of ill-health, wrote a letter, in which he says that instead of reforming the abuses of *their own tables* they should rather *regulate God's.*

Granville attended the Chapter armed with the following answers to probable objections, and with a scheme for securing a competent number of Communicants from amongst the Cathedral Body proper.

' THE MAIN OBJECTIONS THAT WERE OFFERED LAST
" YEAR, OR MAY BE OFFERED (AS FAR AS I
" FORESEE) AT PRESENT.

" *Answered.*

" 1st. If it be said that desuetude hath taken away the
" obligacion of this law, and destroyed its force,

" I answer

" That the law which enjoyns weekly Communions is not above twenty years old, and so the former objection cannot lye against it. And besides it is not an old law without any addicion, onely reinforced by the late Act of Uniformity, but a law well consider'd of, and made of larger extent than it was before, for it now reaches Colledges, whereas our old Book of Common Prayer did onely oblige Cathedrall and Collegiate Churches.

" 2. To the second objection, That there will not be a
" sufficient number of Communicants to support the
" dignity of the Sacrament.

" I answer

" That it lies in our own power to secure a sufficient number within our own Body or families, and so wee ought not to object that which lieth in our own power to prevent. And the Rubrick itself is sufficient to declare that a very small number in many cases is sufficient to justify y^e^ Celebracion.

" 3. To the third objection, That tho' wee could secure
" a competent number of people to communicate, yet
" wee cannot be all the year long sure of Priests to
" officiate.

" I answer

" That if any Cathedrall in England can, (as the Rubrick supposeth every Cathedrall can) the Church of Durham can do it; that is secure a sufficient number of Priests; or at least, it is as easy for every Prebendary in his absence to provide a Priest to officiate for him at the Altar, as to preach for him at the y^e^ Pulpit, and I humbly conceive more his duty so to do, because one Sacrament is more valuable than many Sermons.

" 4. To the fourth, That wee ought to be guided by the " practice of our Metropolitan.

" I answer

" That here in this particular wee have a clear and undeniable law to guid us, which is above our Metropolitan. And the Church of Durham has less reason than others to be governed by y^e^ Metropolitan, being in some manner exempt from y^e^ authority of the Arch-Bishop, and, having arrived to a much higher pitch of conformity than the Church of York (or I think any other Church in England) may as well lead as follow.

" 5. If any object, That I press this duty with too much " earnestness and zeal.

" I answer

" That besides the Arguments common to us all drawn from God's judgments, which summon us to fly for refuge to God's Altar, I have a peculiar obligacion so to do, because I have a jurisdiccion which suffers by the example, whensoever any breach of Rubrick is authorized by the Cathedrall. And I am sure I feel the inconveniences thereof, for tho' I know mine to be the most regular of y^e^ three jurisdiccions, yet conformity (I confess) is in its declinacion in some

places thereof. And besides I could better prevail with greater parishes to come up to monthly, if the Cathedrall had weekly Communions.

"6. If any one object, That this is no proper season for "any considerable change in y^e^ Service of God,

"I answer

"That tho' it be the most unfit season for any alteracion in y^e^ establish'd laws of y^e^ Church, or for y^e^ extraordinary exercise of discipline, yet it is the most proper season for Clergy men to come up to extraordinary diligence in doing their duty, and obeying the laws of their Common Prayer Book, which is certainly of more indispensable obligacion to us than the Canons, because it has been lately reviewed, examined, and corrected, and that wee have every one of us given our unfeigned assent and consent thereunto in a very solemn manner in y^e^ presence of God, and y^e^ face of a congregacion. 2dly, that it is no less proper now in respect of y^e^ Bishops Trienniall, that by reforming this omission in reference to y^e^ Blessed Eucharist (which is the chief part of our Christian worship) wee may be the better proof against y^e^ visitacion in a criticall time, which requires it to be more exact than former ones."

[Endorsed:—] "Objections against weekly Communions "answered"

"ADVICE FOR Y^E^ BETTER SETTING AND KEEPING UP "Y^E^ WEEKLY CELEBRACION OF Y^E^ HOLY COM- "UNION IN Y^E^ CHURCH OF DURHAM, AND "SECURING A COMPETENT NUMBER OF COMU- "NICANTS IN THEIR OWNE BODY.

"That all Priests and Deacons be constant communicants as y^e^ Rubrick commands. Vide y^e^ 4. Rubrick after y^e^ Communion Office.

"That there be two Prebendaries and two Petticannons at y^e least till y^e Grand Chapter in July, when y^e Body will consult and establish some method for the constant and more solemne performance of that holy duty.

"That all y^e Lay Officers and Members of y^e Body communicate at least monethly, ordering their businesse so y^t y^e fourth part of them may be present at every Communion.

"That y^e Schoolmaster be exhorted to be diligent in y^e instruction and preparacion of y^e King's Scholars for Confirmacion and reception of y^e Holy Sacrament, and that a fourth part of y^m[1], do in their turns receiue every Lord's day.

"That all Domesticks in y^e Prebendaries houses, and such as are admitted to be inhabitants within y^e Colledge (who upon that account ought to be more exemplary than others) be moved to be monethly Communicants at least, receiveing in like manner a fourth part each time.

"That Preachers do as much as possible presse to frequent Communion according to y^e example at this time of both y^e Metropoliticall Churches,[2] and the greatest part of y^e Cathedralls of England, who have lately and very seasonably revived this excellent Order of y^e Church mightily to edificacion, and with very considerable successe, y^e weekly Communions in such Churches where this work of piety hath been begun and prosecuted with zeale, being observed to be as large as y^e monethly Communions were before our most Reverend Primate of all England began this happy alteracion.

[1] Who have been admitted to y^e Holy Communion.

[2] This reference to the weekly celebration having been commenced in York Cathedral points to the "Advice" belonging to a later date than 1681. The Archdeacon, no doubt, pressed his motion each year till he finally succeeded in carrying his point.

"Thus it is not only possible, but very easy to maintaine y^e^ weekly celebracion of y^e^ blessed Eucharist, if all persons that have dependance upon y^e^ Cathedrall are but willing to do their duty without y^e^ assistance of any other, and it cannot be reasonably expected that this work of piety should succeed worse than elsewhere in so conformable a city and county as Durham, since besides some of y^e^ more sober and devout people of y^e^ towne, will not only embrace this opportunity (it is concluded) when they have noe Communion at their owne Churches, but many strangers, Clergy and others, which a Cathedral and city must necessarily draw thither, will be invited to assist at the Holy Piece of Devotion; it being observed here in his Majesties Chappell and other considerable Churches in London, that since our late Revolucion y^e^ generality of well disposed Christians have frequented God's House with greater zeale than heretofore, and stuck more close to his Altar."

[Endorsed:—] "Advice about Weekly Comunion."

The Durham Chapter, however, rejected the proposal, and Granville's "honest designe" had to remain unfulfilled for four years longer, much to his bitter disappointment.

CHAPTER IX.

IN a fragment of a Diary, under date, "Easington, Candlemas Day, $16\frac{80}{1}$, occurs the following :—

"That I did make a proposall in writing to my Parish of Easington concerning the reparations and adorning the Church according to my own mind, and prevailed with the Churchwardens and chief of the Parish to comply with my motion, much to my satisfaction, and which I hope will prove much to the honour of God's service."

But perhaps (as sometimes happens even in these days) the squire of Easington was opposed to having the Church restored according to his rector's own mind, and scented Popery afar off. At any rate he was a zealous parliamentarian and "a great dreader of the Papists," and when on the following Sunday Granville, after the Nicene Creed, gave out the usual Lenten notices and exhorted his people to observe the holy season with all strictness, and then proceeded from things spiritual to things temporal, and "took an occasion" to do a little electioneering besides, in view of an approaching election, Captain Midford "rose up boldly in the congregation," and three times over "presumed to interrupt and oppose with some capitulatory language unbeseeming the place and duty." Such brawling during the time of Divine Service was insufferable, and Granville ordered "the constables, in his Majesties name, to take him into their custody, and to secure him till he had found

sufficient sureties for his good behaviour." The incident doubtless caused a considerable commotion in the parish, and so excited did young Higgons, Granville's nephew and amanuensis, become, that he was "overtaken with drinke visibly, which discovered itselfe by his deportment before the Deane, and afterwards grossely in my owne chamber when I came in to go to bed." Cf. page 149.

The following is Granville's own account of the brawling, being his deposition when he applied for a warrant against Midford.

"Sunday, $198\frac{0}{1}$

"Being officiating in my own Parish Church, and making an addresse to the people in time of Divine Service (immediately after the Nicene Creed), warning my Parishoners of the approaching season of Lent for the exercise of repentance, and requiring people to some extraordinary diligence in attending upon God's service at so solemn a time of devotion, as also to send all y^e^ young people that were above sixteen years of age, and intended to partake of y^e^ holy Sacrament at Easter, to Church constantly, on Wednesdaies and Fridaies at least, to receive some publick and private instructions for their better preparacion to that holy duty; and then taking an occasion in y^e^ conclusion of what I said concerning these spirituall matters, to mind y^e^ people of y^e^ approaching Election, wherein, tho' a temporall concern, our religion and welfare of our Church was highly interested, insomuch that all people ought to bee exceeding cautious how they were drawn away by plausible suggestions to give their votes to persons of lesse assured loyalty, than those Gentlemen who had lately served in Parliament, and were unanimously sett up by the Gentry

of y^e^ Country; Mr. William Mittford of Pespoole, rose up boldly in y^e^ congregation, and presumed to interupt and oppose mee in my discourse (chiefly intended, as all can witnesse, to perswade the Parishoners to loyalty and allegiance to their Soveraigne). Notwithstanding that I did in the name of God and by vertue of my office, rebuke him for such his insolence, and require him to keep silence, yet he did it y^e^ second time and a third with some capitulatory language vnbeseeming the place and duty, which carried with it some reflections, not only on y^e^ present Gentlemen which stand for our County, and who served in y^e^ late Parliament, but on our Church and the King, as if zeal for either would endanger y^e^ bringing in of Popery. Explaining himself afterwards in my house (as he had done once before in the vestry), that our late members had discovered their inclinations that way, therefore he would not vote for them.

"And here it is to bee observed that I, having on the last Lord's day, and y^e^ late festivall of y^e^ Purification, used some zeal, both in y^e^ Church and in y^e^ vestry, to perswade my people to stick close to y^e^ King and y^e^ religion established in y^e^ Church of Engfand, as y^e^ best means to keep out Popery, and preserve our Nation; the aforesaid Gentleman was so offended with my doctrine, as publickly to oppose mee in time of Divine Service, to the great dishonour of God's house and worship, and scandall to y^e^ congregation; which occasioned mee (after the Benediction), to require y^e^ constables in his Maj[es]ties name, to take y^e^ aforesaid turbulent person into their custody, and to secure him till he hath found sufficient sureties for his good behaviour.

"And here I desire to have it noted, that in pressing people to their duty, I used no bitter and provokefull lan-

guage, nor so much as one aggravating expression, it being contrary to my principles and practice so to doe.

"DENIS GRENVILLE.

"Wee whose names are here
"underwritten being present in
"y^e congregation when this disorder
"happened, do attest y^e truth of y^e
"contents of y^e abovesaid paper.
"Fran: Gamul, Curate of Easington.
"Jo: Wilkinson, Parish Clark.
"Roger Prideaux.
"(?) Jo: Basire."

The case came before Judge Gregory,[1] who instructed the jury that as Granville's remarks about the coming election, which provoked Captain Midford's ire, were made after the Nicene Creed, at the time appointed for Briefs, Citations, and Excommunications to be read, they were not made during the time of Divine Service, and that, therefore, there was no brawling on the part of the defendant. This extraordinary finding rankled considerably in Granville's breast, and he lost no opportunity afterwards, as we shall see in his Journal, of consulting other legal opinions on the point.

Granville was, as may be supposed, very zealous in maintaining the dignity of the services, especially in the Cathedral; and inattention to rubrics and the slovenly and disorderly behaviour of the minor canons, singing men, and choir boys, are frequently commented on, and a pre-

[1] Sir William Gregory, appointed a Baron of the Exchequer June 20th, 1679. He afterwards became a Judge of the King's Bench.

sentment of such matters made to the Dean and Chapter. The following are instances in point:—

"Breaches of Rubricks in the Cathedral.

"1st. Having only a monthly Sacrament, when it is expressly injoyn'd by the rubrick to have one at least weekly.

"2ndly. The omission of the second lesson, and sometimes the psalms, when there is a funeral, and taking in the psalms and lesson for that office, which ought to be used also without the omission of the other.

"3dly. Using part of Visitation office for the Sick, in the Cathedral, which the Church only designs to be done in the sick man's presence.

"4thly. Baptizing children on the weekdays without any necessity.

"5thly. Observing a Vigil or Fast, and using a collect for the following Festival, when the Church appoints none.

"6thly. Observing the Vigil on Sunday, when the Holiday falls on Monday, which should be observed on Saturday.

"7thly. The Priest that officiates, and the Sacrist, ordering the bread and wine for consecration at other times when not appointed by the rubrick.

"Some of these breaches," he adds, "may seem to be but of small moment, but yet however, they being breaches of our rule of conformity, our Common Prayer-Booke, to which we all give our unfeigned assent and consent, must needs be (as I am sure I find them) of very bad consequence. For when the bounds are once broken, and such breach authorized by the Cathedral Church (which should give law to the whole Diocese) it must needs give a great wound to the uniformity of the country."

"SOME OTHER OMISSIONS AND IRREGULARITIES WHICH I CONCEIVE WORTHY OUR CONSIDERATION IN ORDER TO THE RECTIFYING THEM.

"1st. No sermon on Ash Wednesday, nor on Good Friday neither sometimes, whereas there were sermons heretofore in this Cathedrall on all Wednesdays and Fridays throughout Lent and Advent, according to the example of our Metropolitan Church of York and some other Cathedralls in England.

"2ndly. No prayers for servants in the Cathedrall at six a clock on Sundays and Holydays, when there are a greater number than ordinary detained at home (especially in the time of Residence) to dresse dinner, and when people have a greater obligation than on other days to be at prayers. This is wondered at (to my knowledge) by some people, both in the town and country, and judged very unaccountable.

"3dly. People's making the Church a common through-fair to carry burdens

"4thly. Walking in the Church and Cloysters, even on Sundays, in time of Divine Service, and making much noise many times, to the great disturbance of it

"5thly. Boys playing very rudely in the Cloysters on Sundays; and sometimes on other days playing in the very Church itself.

"6thly. Slovenly behaviour of some Petty Canons in sitting on their desks with their backsides towards the Quire.

"7thly. Singing-men seldom wearing their gowns under their surplices, and both boys and singing-men wearing surplices so nasty and dirty that it gives much offence to people.

"These are things, for which I, in the execution of my office, hear the Church much reflected on, and therefore think myself in conscience bound humbly to tender them to your consideration, there being no Prebendary that hath more particular reason to doe so than my self, who do much suffer hereby in the comfortable execution of my office.

"DENIS GRENVILLE."

"IRREGULARITIES WITHIN THE VERGE OF THE CATHEDRALL CHURCH OF DURHAM.

"1. Petticannons walking abroad even to the Church in their studying gowns.

"2dly. Singing men and boys wearing no gowns at all when they officiate, under their surplices.

"3dly. Surplices oftentimes intolerably dirty and sometimes ragged.

"4thly. Boisterous perriwiggs, or cravatts with surplices.

"5ly. Boyes running up and downe the Quire rudely and unseasonably, without any manifest necessity or reason, and sometimes quite contrary to command.

"6ly. The Quiristers carrying Anthem Bookes and sometimes Common Prayer-bookes very impertinently and troublesomely to those that do not desire nor need them.

"7ly. The boyes rudely attacking and persecuting gentlemen for spur-money, and frighting some people from the Church by their insolent importunity.

"8ly. The Quiristers, and sometimes the Singing-men staring, gazing, and laughing, indecently lolling, and sometimes scandalously sleeping, not only during sermon but also service.

"9ly. A great part, if not the greatest part, of Singing-

men and boyes many times not joining at all in the responses, and sometimes not at all in the very Creed and Lord's Prayer, or at other times gabling them over, and outrunning the Precentor and others of the Quire.

"10ly. Irreverence of people that come to Church, when they have no impediment from being crowded, but have liberty and conveniency to observe the decent gestures commanded by authority.

"11ly. Rude people walking and talking in the Church, round about the Quire, in the very time of service, to the great disturbance thereof.

"12ly. Virgirs' negligence in doing their duty both within and without the Quire, or doing it sometimes very pragmatically.

"13ly. Young men playing in the Cloisters on Sundaies in the afternoon and sometimes in the very Church it selfe, even in the time of prayer.

"14ly. Workmen in the Church making intolerable noise in time of Divine Service.

"15ly. Working openly upon Holy daies in the Colledgyard.

"16ly. Great contempt of the Festivalls both within and without doors, even among the servants of the Prebends.

"17ly. Negligence of servants to frequent six-a-clock prayers peculiarly designed for them, and such as cannot be present at the other longer and solemne prayers at ten.

"18ly. No six a clock prayers at all on Sundaies and Holydaies when there seems to be more reason for them than on other daies.

"19ly. Absence of King's Scholars, and others relating to our Body, without just necessity, from the Church, when their duty obliges them to be present.

"20ly. People before sermon rudely crowding up into the Lecturne, using sometimes undecent violence in punching one another on the breast.

"21. People after Sermon, when they retire back into the Allies by the sides of the Quire (which is not amisse) instead of staying for the last prayers, and reverently receiving the Benediction, when there is no Sacrament, rudely and profanely run out of the Church.

"22ly. Making the Church on weekdaies a througfare to carry burdens and other things no waies fit to appear there, through the Church.

"23ly. The Bedell's negligence of his office in letting such idle poor and vagabonds as are punishable by the law, and not allowed to enter into the Colledge, to beg, not only in the cloisters themselfes, but even at the Choir door.

"24. The Bedells further negligence in suffering the dogs to enter the Quire and disturb God's service

"25ly. Scandalous abuse of the Churchyard, and profanacion sometimes of the very Church it selfe by the sufferance of beasts to feed in the sight of people on the Pallace Green at the very door of the Cathedrall; and sometimes entring into the Church by the continuance of an incroachment by no means in reason, duty, and conscience to be allowed of

"26. Drying of linen in Church yard.

"27. Pulling downe the houses.

"BREACH OF RUBRICKS.

"1. Cutting of the two last words of the Exhortation, *Dearly beloved brethren.*"

And in his Journal under date, Durham, February 11, 168$\frac{9}{1}$. he writes:—

"I sent some boyes to the Correction-house for playing

on Sunday in the Cloysters, which I had pardoned upon their submission, if I had not found they had been guilty of playing at cards upon the Communion Table, which I hope by God's blessing may prove a good piece of service to our Church at Durham."

Again:—

"Durham, Feb. 12, 168$\frac{9}{1}$. I moved the Dean and Chapter to summon Mr. Fran: Blakiston[1] to appear before them, and prevailed with them to consent to his making an acknowledgment in the Cathedrall in time of Divine Service for his notorious and insolent offence in striking Richardson our Porter, and felling of him with his staffe in the very midst of the Quire. And did on the 15th to this end and purpose present a form of Pennance to the Dean and Prebends to bee recited after the second lesson at the Letany Desk on some Sunday: the slipping over of which crime would have been a greater offence in the Dean and Prebends than in Mr. Blakston, and which would have been done if God had not stirred mee up personally to have revived the businesse; for successe wherein I blesse God, esteeming it better service to the Church then preaching of twenty sermons. Indeed it should haue been carried farther, and hee have been declared excommunicate, and so continued for a considerable time, and after that haue done a more publick and solemn pennance *linteis vestimentis* on more Sundaies than one, and if it had been *nudo capite et pedibus*, it had not been so much as the crime deserved. Dean Smith[2] and Dr. Brevint did assist mee, for which God reward them, in this honest under-

[1] Vicar of Aycliffe and one of the Minor Canons.

[2] Thomas Smith, S.T.P., one of the Prebendaries, Dean of Carlisle, and afterwards Bishop of that See.

taking. That this pennance was not improved further, proportionable to the crime, was none of my fault."

In after years, when he was Dean, Granville drew up the following Penance for Roger Blakiston, one of the Vergers of the Cathedral, to read out in the time of Divine Service before the whole congregation:—

"Whereas by the sin of drunkennesse I haue done dishonour to God, and giuen offence to my superiours of this Cathedral, and scandal to all other good Christian people, I doe here humbly confesse and am heartily sorry for the same; and doe earnestly beg God's and the Church's pardon; and doe promise that (by God's grace) I will never offend in like manner for the future."

Granville's views on reverence and ritual are well illustrated by the following Paper which he drew up on "Adoration or bowing etc. at our entrance into a Quire or Chancell etc.," and it is probably owing to his influence in initiating the custom, that the clergy of the Cathedral at Durham still make their reverent obeisance on entering and leaving the Choir. The Paper is dated Easington, May 3, 1682.

"The Church of England in her establishment both as to her Articles, Canons, and Liturgy, is, without doubt, the most unexceptionable of all Christian Churches. There is no Church so happily reformed and reduced so nigh the primitive state of the most pure and flourishing times, when the Church of Christ was in the most happy and desirable condition, I meane the time of Constantine or thereabouts. So wise and holy is our Church in all her composures that I know of no more expeditious course (next under God and the immediate study of the Holy Scriptures) to become a

great and a good man, than the hearty and intense study of her admirable and pious rules, not only of doctrine and discipline, but of worshipp and order, I meane our incomparable Common Prayer Book; of which I am so hearty a lover and an approver, that I dare say (and proclaime to all the world that I think) with good Bishopp Cranmer, that there has not been, since the times of the Apostles, a composure more wise and godly, and lesse liable to cavill or censure. And whereto whosoever is a true and right conformist, inwardly as well as outwardly, and labours daily to bring his soule into a letter and frame to say his Holy Office, with more and more understanding, reverence, and devotion, (to assist at which, if not to say, is, without a lawfull impediment, I conceive, the duty of every Christian) takes the most effectuall and thriving course for his soule to grow and advance on in grace and vertue. Hee therefore that cannot conforme to all things injoined by our Liturgy is very unreasonable or greatly misinformed. And I am of opinion, with a great man whom I haue heard quoted, that if any Liturgies, among all Christian Liturgies, deserves to be pitch'd on for the universall one, it is that of the Church of England. I declare this to bee my judgment concerning the Church whereof I am a member and an unworthy Minister, and in this beleife I dare dye; but I am not so great a bigot in my religion as to think that there cannot be so much as a ceremony bee added to, or diminished from, our way of worshipp (in a lawfull convocation) without justly exposing ourselves to a censure of favouring will-worship and Popery on one side, or faction and puritanism on the other. Where, justly to retrench any thing, or to cut off soe much as a ceremony (and to give a rationall and satisfactory account of the same) would puzzle I am sure the

greatest and wisest of our modern reformers of the Church of England. Wee are unexpressibly happy, if wee knew our own fecility, upon that account, and cannot without great guilt complaine either of impositions or desire of a reformation. But to make some few additions in matters of lesser moment, tending to the greater solemnity of God's worship as well as on some points of discipline, would bee so far from a sin that I consider it hugely desirable. This was well considered and understood by our Gracious martyr'd Soveraigne and great martyr'd Patriarch, both of ever blessed memory, who sealed our religion with their blood; otherwise the one had not been so zealous and carefull (with the advice of the convocation) of composing, and the other so pious and religious in approving those excellent and wise Canons and Constitutions of 1640, I mean King Charles's Canons, or Bishopp Laud's Canons, as some tearme them, which title will never derogate from them among the true and legitimate issue of the Church of England. Whether those excellent rules had such a formal confirmation as might agree to the notion of some of our capricious common lawyers of this age (who would fain bring all religion into the Parliament House or Westminster Hall) I do not understand. But this is sufficiently plain and notorious that they haue past the test of both Houses of Convocation and had the full approbation and consent of King Charles the First; whether in such a formall and legall way, according to some men's ideas of legality, there may be some question. But that they ought to bee received, for the sake of those two great masters of wisdom and devotion, with high esteem and veneration, is without all question. Hee that could not haue exactly and heartily conformed to them, had they, without all kind of exception, past the Broad Seale (which was the deplorable infelicity

of the Church of England that they did not) and been generally put in practice, I dare pronounce him a mongrell, or at least a dow-baked parson, and no right bred son of the Church of England. And hee that cannot practice them (tho' they haue had an unhappy fate) with prudence and moderation, according to the example of our Cathedralls, Collegiate Churches and Colledges, as far as the circumstances of the age, and the place where hee lives, will beare, is (I dare allso censure such a one) in my judgment little better. This I am sure of, that hee must bee an intolerable opiniatour and conceited son of the Church that dares contemne and censure by his non-complyance what has been all along practised by the best and greatest fathers and lights of our Church; which may deservedly bee esteemed the Mother Church of Reformed Christendome. And I think it my great unhappinesse that I haue any such in my Jurisdiction. But that any should dare boldly to dispute against them, to the dishonour of our Moses and Aaron, our King and Archbishopp, who stood in the gap and sacrificed their lives for us and them is insufferably pragmatical. Such an exaltation of any private person's judgment aboue such great oracles, who deserve to be canonized in our Calendar, is beyond all the bounds of modesty and good manners. And if I should heare any more any Clergyman (as I haue sometimes done) within my verge, publickly doe it, I would make bold publickly to censure him. Among which Canons the seventh, concerning Rites and Ceremonies, and due respect to God's House and Table, doth in this prophane and irregular age particularly deserve man's consideration. It is lamentable to behold with what rude boldnesse men usually enter God's House and approach unto His Altar. And such grosse contempt of the place of God's Service, without all dispute, leads to the contempt

of God's worshipp itself. And meane and low thoughts of God's worshipp do render all publick performance, both service and sermon, less effectual and edifying. It concerns therefore God's priests and ministers to labour both by their practice and discourses to restore to God's House its due honour, or at least to prevent their peoples sliding back into grosser rudenesse and profaneness. The acquainting people with the utmost reverence which the Church designs, and particularly in the late mentioned Canon, may contribute to the same. Cathedrals, Collegiate Churches, and the well governed Colledges in the Universities do owne this Canon, (wee find by their practice) and make it their rule. And it is to bee wished that so pious a practice as that recommended unto us therein, namely doing lowly reverence in bowing the head at our entrance in to the most solemn place of God's worshipp, that is, into the Quire or Chancell, did obtaine in all Parochiall Churches and Chappells, or at least the Ministers did practise itt, as far as the circumstances of the age, place, or people would beare; wherein every Minister would do well to consult his Ordinary, governing, himself in this particular by his Ecclesiasticall Superiours godly judgment, rather than his own according to the promise of every Priest in the last interrogatory of the Ordination Office. And it concerns all Ordinaries to take care that they make wise and pious detirminations in such cases, not incouraging the Clergy to loose more ground in this point of externall reverence they having already, to the great detriment of piety, lost too much) than they haue done, nor pressing the observation of a ceremony (especially in these ticklish times) farther than is cleare and plaine the interest and meaning of the Church in her indisputable and received lawes, especially those that haue been examined and reviewed since the

Restauration, which are of the most undeniable obligation, by reason there can bee no pretence to neglect them upon the account of desuetude, which is often in the mouth of those that are willing to evade them. And if the Ordinary or Parish Priest leane to any extreme, surely it is most pardonable in this prophane age if it bee to that of too much reverence. For there is a necessity sometimes, and in some matters, to make the stick right, according to a vulgar proverb, to bow it the other way; which way may bee done without breaking it, as some fancy Bishopp Laud did, but I am not of that mind, by his great zeale for external decency and order. The stick, God knowes, was very badly broken, but it was (as is now notorious) by the impatience and stubbornesse of an unreasonable, seditious and rebellious people, rather than by the laudable zeale and orderly government of that wise and godly Prelate. I am of opinion, I confesse, that a Parochial Church and Congregation will beare all that externall order and reverence which is commendable and fitt to bee practised in a Cathedral Collegiate Church or Colledge in the University, where there are not only alwaies a Body of Clergy, but the people generally more knowing and refined, and such from whom more may justly be expected, they being not so apt to bee scandalized as the vulgar. It is as reasonable to except that the solemnity of God's worshipp may bee greater in some Churches than it is in others, as it is that all Churches should not bee alike august as to the fabrick and building. In the capitall Citty of a Country or Diocesse, and the See of a Bishopp or an Archbishopp, where the peoples' houses are more than ordinary stately and sumptuous, it is decent to be, and just to expect, that God's House bee so too. In meaner townes and villages, where the buildings are meaner, the people poorer, lesse

beautifull places of worshipp may be allowed of, provided the Church bee, as it allwaies ought to bee, the best house in the Parish. Thus according to the richnesse of the building and greatnesse of the revenue belonging thereto for the support of it and God's service, the worshipp of God ought to bee more or lesse solemn. As it is most easy to have it in such manner performed in those places, so it is most congruous that it should bee so. Kings here upon earth do not appeare at all times and in all places with equal state and grandeur, neither do men at all times pay them the same low respect and reverence, tho' it bee alwaies due from a subject to his Prince. Just so, tho' the utmost respect of soule and body that can bee paid by creatures to their Creatour bee allwaies due unto God, the supreme Monarch of the Universe, yet Hee doth not expect that it should bee at all times and in all places equally paid. By which it appears, methinks, that Parochial Service should be less pompous than Cathedrall, and lesse bodily reverence may there bee expected from Priest and People, which are expresly injoyned by the Common Prayer Booke, and which are equally obligatory to Parish Churches and Cathedralls. Such ceremonies, tho' in themselves very decent and edifying, that have no foundation but on the practice of the Church, or onely on such laws which will not beare the test of a legal examination in a Court of Judicature, cannot be imposed by a Priest on his people, with any great zeale and authority, or indeed practised by himself in this unruly age without great prudence and moderation. If wee can all come up now to the strict observation of our Common Prayer Book, (which certainly is indispensably incumbent on all Conformists, Laick or Ecclesiastick) it will bee happy, and is the chief matter that wee ought with our utmost zeale to contend for. In the observation of the Canons I con-

fesse there may be a greater latitude granted, and greater liberty given to prudence; they having not lately been examined and reviewed and fitted to the circumstances of the present age, as certainly they ought to haue been, rather than our Common Prayer Book. But great care ought to bee had that such liberty bee not abused, and that liberty, which is onely allowed to the prudent and discreet, may not bee chiefly taken by those of a contrary character, who usually in all places and ages are far the greatest number, and fancy themselves the most discreet and prudent. It concerns all, therefore, to consult their superiours before they take the liberty to dispense with the letter of any law of the Church, tho' never so much pass'd, as they fancy, into disuse. If there bee any sin or fault in dispensing with laws or rules, it is fit to leaue it at the door of our guides, who ought to judge better than wee can how far we may goe in such extraordinary cases; and I would haue inferiour Clergy submit their judgments to the judgments of their superiours in such matters, tho' contrary to their own. The consequences, even when the Ecclesiasticall superiour should erre, which hee may often doe, being a fallible man, will bee more tolerable than when a private minister acts upon his own head or braine, which is of all methods the most contrary to God's and His Church's."

Another Paper belonging to this category is entitled "An Essay that the posture of kneeling at the time of the rehearsall of God's curse against impenitent sinners is not altogether without reason."

"1. It is humbly desired that the reason may bee assigned why a Christian kneels when the Ministers of the Lord pronounce a benediction of the penitent, and not when

they pronounce a curse or malediction on the impenitent? And whether this does not looke like a man's revering His Mercy more than His Justice.

"2. Whether a standing position does not lesse edify than a kneeling posture, because it looks rather like pride and an insolent defyance of God's threats, with the sturdy cedar neither to bend nor bow at the stroake of the Most High, when wee should kisse the rod, and become of man what will, let God bee magnified, and when hee evidences his height, whether wee should not demonstrate our lowlinesse of mind by a suitable gesture of body.

"3. Whereas the grand objection against this posture is that it may generate in the minds of the vulgar who look a squint on truth, that wee pray, being in the posture of prayer, for a curse on ourselves or neighbours, may not the same lye against standing which is a praying posture too, but more against kneeling at the Commandments or Sacrament. Moreover, *ex abundanti*, what that it should bee evident, that at the astonishing voice of God in converting sinners (for which this pious office is designed) kneeling has been used, when we reade not of a formall prayer, as at Saul's conversion, *when thy judgments are in the earth, etc., nobilis est ira leonis, parcere, etc.* And notwithstanding this or more that might be said, I submit to the judgment, practice, and injunction of my Ordinary.

Another interesting Paper belonging to this period is entitled "Advice given to Mr. Corbett Skinner upon his going to sea, April 1683."

"1st. To remember the solemne vows he made to God and promises to the Archdeacon of Durham, and which he sealed with the Blood of his Redeemer at his first reception

of the Holy Sacrament at Easter, 1682, as namely, that he would according to the instruction then given him among others, live and dye a good Christian Protestant son of the Church of England.

"2dly. That he make conscience dayly to read the Bible, in private; and if he reade the same according to our Church's order in the Calendar (or as far as his time will permitt) it may be a very profitable course for him.

"3rdly. That he takes care to attend the publick prayers in the vessell with the same externall reverence and devotion as he has been taught in the Bishopprick of Durham.

"4thly. That he takes care not only to make such use of his Common Prayer Book in publick, as is intended, but that he read and consider the same seriously and frequently in private, that he may be very well acquainted with the offices, that he may not be at a losse when he is to assist at them, from which practice may be gotten much usefull knowledge and devotion.

"5thly. That he make conscience in spending some time of the day in private prayer, at least morning and evening, for the performance of which duty he cannot have better directions than those he will find in the devotional part of the Whole Duty of Man; which book I advise him to carry along with him, and to read one chapter every Lord's Day, according to the direction of the book, or as much of one as his necessary businesse will give him leave.

"6thly. That he take great care to pick and choose the more civil young men that he can meet withall for his very intimate companions, and to avoid over great familiarity with any idle debauched lads in the vessell.

"7thly. That next to his duty to God he doe his duty with great diligence and faithfulness to Sir Tho. Grantho,

following with great punctuality all the advice and good instructions that he shall give him.

"8thly. That he carry himself with all due respect to the Chaplain, of whom I hear a good character, and labour as much as he can by his civil deportment to get an interest in him, that he may be able to consult him sometimes in reference to the spirituall conduct of himself.

"9thly. That he often think on and seriously consider his own sin and folly in squandering away his time and those precious opportunities he had of being a scholar, while he was at Durham, remembring that he is now on his last leggs, and that if he does a second time disoblidge his parents in the like manner, he has no reasonable ground of hopes that they will take any farther care of him for the future.

"10thly and lastly. If God give him grace to become a sober and serious man, and God grant him life to returne home here into England, with a good report from S^r^ Thomas, the Chaplain, and the sober gentlemen in the vessell, I do hereby promise that if I shall be a live, and in right circumstances, I will indeavour to doe a good chear for him in case he stand in any need of my kindness and assistance.

"To this I have nothing more to add but my prayers to God that He will give him grace to live in His fear, and bring him safe back into his native country.

"DENIS GRENVILLE."

Granville's eldest sister, Lady Elizabeth, had married Sir Peter Prideaux, of Netherton, in the parish of Farway, near Honiton. Her youngest boy, Roger, was Dennis Granville's godson. He matriculated at Exeter College,

Oxford, in 1672, and proposed taking Holy Orders. His godfather writes him the following reasons against entering into Orders as soon as he reached the canonical age:—

"The entrance into Holy Orders is the most important affaire to a Minister of his whole life; before I will take upon mee therefore to perswade or disswade my nephew, I am resolved to pen downe my thoughts and thoroughly examine them, that I may nether impose on myselfe nor him in a matter of soe great moment, as I did on my own selfe, when I went into Orders, making (God knowes) more hast than good speed.

"It is without all dispute very comendable for him to dedicate himselfe to the Church, and I have good reason to beleive that God hath inclined him thereto; nether do I doubt but that hee is well quallified both in point of University learning and experience of the world (much better than the generality of our more hopefull young men that doe undertake this sacred calling) yet it is allso without dispute as commendable for everyone to put their hands to this plow (from which there is noe looking back) with great advice, deliberacion and circumspection; and since the age hath run into the sin of too much forwardness and rashness to leane a litle to the contrary extreame of too much wariness and over consideration.

"The inconveniences of too great care and slowness are usually but temporall, whereas the ill-consequences, on the other hand, are of a more dangerous nature and will oblige to a more severe repentance, whereof I haue noe small experience.

"God hath placed my nephew in better circumstances in ordinary in point of hopes (as to preferment) and therefore would bee more blameable than other if he should make

as much hast as the young men of our age usually doe,[1] who are pricked on and tempted thereto by a pinching necessity, and which is by good men very much bewailed.

"His studies haue been hitherto, I suppose, cheifly to secure a foundation of humane learning, without any particular respect to this or that calling. It would be convenient if hee did for some yeares (or for one yeare at least) addict himselfe to divinity and devotion and such studies as may make him a good preist and churchman and converse a litle with men abroad in the world, who doe not smell of a Colledge; which last will not only bee a certaine ornament to him, but quallify him the better to discharge his function as to personall applications for the future.

"His age is at present not more than is just allowable by our Churche's rule to bee a Deacon (viz[t] 23) which tho' our Church permitts, as allsoe to be a Preist at 24 and a Bishop at 30, yet surely never intended it to bee a rule for all. What the Church doth in some cases permitt, it doth not allwayes approve of as best. And I conceive that the example of our Saviour, who did not enter upon the Sacerdotall office till 30, ought to bee so farre observed by us, as without very considerable motives (and some spirituall ones too, not a few temporall conveniences and satisfactions of our minds) rather to stay soe long than to jump into the surplice as soon as ever one is capable for yeares and learning. Which I looke on a very great greivance of our Church, as well as the greedy snapping at a wife (as if indispensably necessary) as soon as one hath secured a benefice.

"There is much requisite to a good and faithful pastor

[1] In margin, Jer. 45. He refers probably to v. 5, "*and seekest thou great things for thyself? Seek them not, etc.*"

besides *yeares, humane and Divine learning.* It is to bee wished that every minister was a well growne, practicall, and experienced Christian before hee began to attempt to convert or confirme others

"I am not ignorant that a Minister in the right and due execution of his office, and use of his Common Prayer-booke, may grow and increase in devotion and vertue better than in the use of any other booke but his Bible, yet it supposes that some reasonable foundation in mortification and prayer (which usually requires more time than can easily bee secured from the diligent and exemplary execution of the ministeriall function) should precede.

"Whiles one is free from the obligacion of a calling and distractive imployments, one may make a greater progresse in some sorts of learning and devotion in one yeare (if he gives himselfe up wholy to it) than hee can afterwards in seaven.

"And there is some sort of learning and devotion very necessary for a preist than hee cannot very easily learne or practice before hee hath dispatched his humanity, nor afterwards that hee hath taken on him cure of soules. It is requisite therefore (meethinks) that scollars that look towards the Church should pass some time in the pursuit of soe good an end between these twoe. If such a method were usually taken, I make noe doubt but that wee should soon haue an other-guesse Church and Church-men.

"Whether this time in such preparatory studies and exercises bee spent in the University, or out of the University, is not very materiall; but I conceive that it may bee sometimes better spent out of the University, provided that a man hath opportunity of solitude, good bookes, and, (at due times) ingenuous, vertuous, and well-bred company and conversation.

"I feele the truth of what I say by sad experience, (and am therefore better quallified to preach to others) I haue been labouring 20 yeares to doe some things (that regularly should haue been done before I was ordained) which I now dispair of ever doing and for an opportunity of doing which I would giue the best of my preferments.

"I confesse I never laid my hands yet on any one with better will and liking than I could on my nephew, but I could bee better pleased to doe it one yeare or twoe hence than at present. For my love to him makes me desire that hee should bee an extraordinary person both for goodnesse and usefull learning; and I am assured that there bee some things (to these ends and purposes) that may bee better done in this intervall than ever hereafter.

"And among other things I would by noe meanes have omitted the reading over the Bible (in English), the Common Prayer-book, the 39 Articles, the Canons of King James, each one of them, without the interruption of other studies or businesses, and with as much sedulity, constancy, and intention of thought as one's health will permit, writing downe and reserving ones thoughts of moment in a hansome proper book for that purpose, in order to farther enquiry, discourse, or otherwise.

"And tho' each of these may chance to haue been more than once read over by the person in some manner, yet the doing thereof at this very time (I assure my selfe) would be more advantagious than all hath been done before, espetially if hee mixes this his reading and thinking with the due exercise of devotion, endeavouring to keep himselfe in as contemplative and warme a temper and frame of mind as hee possibly can.

"These are things which I wish were considered and practised by all, and more espetially by my nephew or any

of my owne relations that look towards the Church, but there may be some substantiall reasons, I know, which may in some cases ballance all that hath been said.

"I pray God direct my nephew (and all others) in this particular."

Here is another Paper addressed to the same nephew, entitled:—

"Counsells and Directions which I gave in writing to my godson Roger Prideaux on New Year's Day. 168$\frac{9}{1}$, which I conceived might be helpfull to him for the better regulating of his life, as to his devotions, studies, conversation, recreation.

"*Concerning Devotion.*

"1. BIBLE. I do here in the first place in the Name of God advise him to set a due value and esteem upon the Holy Bible, and to take all the rise of his future designs, both as to devotion and study, from thence; familiarizing to himself as much as possible the style, phrase, and idiome of Holy Writ; collecting all ejaculations and holy prayers that haue been used by the antient Saints of God, and are there recorded (as well as the Psalter) for the use of God's people in all ages. This practice observed, and these forms well studied and digested, may be exceeding usefull in furnishing him both with matter and expression for a spiritual intercourse between God and his own soul.

"2. LORDS PRAYER. I do above all things recommend unto him the use and study of our Lord's Prayer, not only the foundation and pattern of all prayer, but an absolute, compleat, and perfect form in its self, calculated for the closet as well as the Church; insomuch that

when one can but learn to make a right use thereof, all other forms will become in a manner uselesse to him in private (at least when he is well and devoutly disposed), for in that form a well experienced Christian may act all kind of devotion, and exercise all kind of graces, and therefore Christians should endeavour by such forms and helps as are allowed beginners, to arrive to this ability of paraphrasing in their minds and rightly applying upon all occasions this excellent prayer, for the doing whereof Mr. Comber hath given us an excellent instance in his pious and worthy endeavours on our Liturgy.

"3. CREED. For the more effectuall exercise of devotion I recommend unto him the study and use of the Creed in his retirement, that he would by frequent and through consideration thereof so to digest it as to be able to draw easily those resolutions which do most naturally flow from it, according to the way and method Mr. Comber prescribes, and which I so often in the Church recommend to the Parishioners of my respective parishes. It is a notorious defect (in the judgment of wiser men than my self) that those persons who have written books of devotion in this late age, haue taken so little notice of the Creed, and sometimes very little more of the Lord's Prayer. Tho' the Creed be not a form of petition to God, and so not a prayer in that sense, (as our foolish sectaries pretend we make it) yet it is the foundation of all prayer, and a noble form for the exercise of devotion, indeed the main part of devotion, that is the acting of our Faith, the best preparatory for the acting of our Hope and Charity. And it is esteemed, too, no small errour in the same persons, that they lay so little stress upon the Lords Prayer, talk so little of the usefulnesse of it in the spirituall directions they give about forms of prayer in the closet,

seldome minding the people that all other forms are but helps till they come to the right use of this Prayer, they being no other, as it were, than paraphrastical enlargments upon some petition or other of this comprehensive form.

"4. DECALOGUE. As I do advise him to impose upon himself an obligation of making some reflections on the Lord's Prayer and Belief dayly, to inable him to recite it with devotion, both in publicke and private, so I do recommend unto him the use of the Decalogue on Sundaies and Holydays and all other days when the Church recommends it to our meditacions, which do always suppose some private consideration thereof preparatory thereunto. For tho' it be no more a form of peticion than the Creed (as our quarrelsome adversaries prate) yet it is an admirable form of devotion and help to examine our consciences, and to exercise our charity towards God and our neighbour, in duly meditating upon the duties of the first and second Table. When one hath gotten the right way of using this, and the other forms already mentioned, they will haue as little need as time to use any other; but when Providence and their other duties incumbent on them do afford them greater liesure for private devotions, I do recommend unto them the use of the Psalter, which will be the subject of my next paragraph.

"5. PSALTER. I shall not inlarge much upon the commendation of Psalmody, but referr you to Dr. Hammond's Annotations, where you will find the frequent use which ancient Christians haue made thereof, not only in the Church, the family, the closet, but on the waking bed, and in the chief part of the spirituall intercourse between God and their own souls. A Christian that will but familiarize the Psalms unto him by frequent converse with them, will find so much spirituall profit thereby that he will

need no other argument than his own experience to presse him to the constant and conscientious use of them.

"6. COMMON PRAYER. Next to the forementioned use of the Psalter, Decalogue, Creed, and Lord's Prayer, I recommend the use of the Prayers in our Liturgy, as they are analized and paraphrased by Mr. Comber, which I conceive may be more generally usefull, (to a Christian that studies the booke so as to know how to use it) even in private, than any form I know extant. For as he hath ordered those prayers and directed men to particularize their necessities in the recitall of them, they must needs dispose more for the publick offices in the Church than other meditations and prayers that do not so near relate unto them; and the chief end of private devotion no doubt is to fitt and prepare us for God's publike worship. I haue found by experience the truth of what I say, and often felt the sweetnesse of them, wherefore I heartily recommend them to the use of all, not doubting but those who would seriously peruse that book and read ouer some of the paraphrases of the more especial prayers which they are to recite in publike, some convenient time before the publike recitall of them, will find the truth of what I affirm (and as I haue often done) namely, that they will be capacitated to joyn in the publike worship with more enlarged thoughts and affections; the particular subjects of meditation on which they haue employed their thoughts in private being apt to recurr to their minds when they come to the general heads in saying the publike prayers in the Church.

"7. BOOKS OF PRIVATE DEVOTION. As for ordinary bookes for private devotion I am not willing to recommend any one to constant practice; but do rather advise the younger sort of devout persons out of all other helps that they shall meet withall in their spirituall progress

(espetially out of the Scripture forms and those that approach most thereto) that they compose one form or exercise of devotion that they shall conceive most suitable to their own temper of soul. And in making such a collection of meditation and devotion every one would do well to consult some spirituall guide, or at least some more knowing and experienced Christian than himself. The most authentick book of private devotions is that of Bishop Cosins, called the 'Hours of Prayer,' not only because it is more suitable to the primitive practice of devout Christians, but because they haue the stamp of high and sacred authority, that booke being but, as it were, a renewall of the Horrary set forth by Queen Eliazbeth in the year 1560. Which booke hath been, is, and will be in reputacion among the more devout and knowing Christians, (notwithstanding all the prejudice that some haue against it) and is made good use of not only by a multitude of understanding and well grown Christians, but by sundry eminent and godly Divines of the Church of England. The next booke for private devotion is that of our incomparably learned and pious Bishop Andrews, being all, almost, expresse words of Scripture, and choice heads for instruction, as well as exercise of devotion, and therein most particularly I recommend to you, who design yourself for the Church, his Manual for the Sick, to be thoroughly considered and digested by you, which ought in my judgment to take place before any other, next after our Church Office for Visitacion, to which a Minister that is a licensed preacher is not absolutely confined, as you may perceive by the Cannon. Indeed every Minister should preferr that of our Church so as to use it in the first place when they are called to visit the sick, but in case the sick person need frequent applications, they are left at liberty in the choice of prayers; but me thinks

they would do best to keep as close as they could to the Psalter and Liturgy, and for which reason I do the more esteem the two former books mencioned. The next booke I recommend to private devotion is Dr. Hammonds 'Practice of Piety,' whose practice it was, one may find thereby, to observe the canonicall hours of prayer, and which he punctually observed (as one may see by his life) many years before his death. I know not at present of any other booke that I would in a very particular manner recommend, but in general I do advise him to peruse, at least to glance his eyes upon, all that shall be published by any eminently pious Divine, which I haue found by experience very beneficiall. For all books of devotion written by such men, tho' they may not be calculated for every one's meridian, yet they must reap much profitt from the perusall of them, not only in warming their soules by reading such pious discourses, but learning much experience in the better conduct of their own and other men's soules, in the practicall part of Divinity and devotion.

"8. Having now recommended unto my nephew (a) variety of forms and methods of devotion I shall in the next plase advise him to set apart some reasonable portion of every day for the *exercise* of them, and if he did yet for some years oblige himself to some set times for *some* spirituall imployment, and great punctuality for the observance of the same, it may be of great advantage to him. The generality of ordinary Christians do lay aside such helps much too soon, flinging away their crutches before they are able to go, and whereof I haue had no small experience in my past life. I am not ignorant of the great inconvenience of the contrary extreme, namely, men's resting in the bare externall performance, in the *opus operatum*, satisfying themselves with the labour of the lip

or the knee without any exercise of the soul, and so run into gross formality. But yet however a multitude of well-meaning souls suffer more by this of which I am now discoursing, and therefore ought to be cautioned against, and therefore I do accordingly advise him to continue in the observance of set and prescribed forms and times of devotion, till he shall by experience be assured that some other course is more suitable to his spirit and particular temper of soul; not leaving a good method of spirituall exercises upon every fancy that he hath discovered a better, till he find some real disgust in his soul to the former; nay not alwaies then neither, unlese he hath a concurrant advice of his spirituall guide. And to these former ends and purposes it will do well that he endeavour to secure a place of retirement where he may constantly perform his solemn devotions without disturbance. But since he cannot assure himself of this alwaies, till he be Master of a house and family of his own, he must content himself with such conveniences as he in his present circumstances can pretend to, and endeavour to supply the want of the former by seeking out a retired place in a garden or solitary walk in the fields, and then, according to the example of old Isaac, dispatch his proposed meditations and prayers, which may be done as acceptably to God, and with as much profit to one's spirit, as in a chamber, a closet, upon ones knees; and this granted, no body can want a place if he has liesure for private prayer and devotion. Nay indeed such an exercise of devotion in the fields and open air is so pleasant as well as profitable that I would advise him to the practice thereof sometimes, (when the weather and season will permit) rather then in the most retired corner within doors. The very air and view of God's creatures, which are more immediately the worke of His hands, do dispose much for devotion and

naturally occasion many very profitable meditations. And this is found so convenient by devout men of a contemplative genius that I need say the lesse in commendation of it. The first sort of devotion which I advise him to, (and which every young Christian ought in the first place to busy himself in) is Meditation. I mean the exercise of his understanding upon such subjects as are casually recommended to beginners till he has gotten some good habit of thinking, and a thoughtfull temper, and for the better performance of such exercises I recommend unto him the perusall of 'Ars cogitandi,' and some select pieces of Riccius 'de Arte meditandi,'[1] but the last with great caution, as also some part of Father Baker's 'Sancta Sophia'[2] but with greater wearinesse then the former, because some of his writings are very enthusiasticall.

"Having thus employed himself a reasonable time in the foresaid devotions, he ought to proceed to exercises of a higher nature, such as consist chiefly in acts of the will, and accordingly seek out some forms suitable to his pur-

[1] Bartholomæus Riccius, a Jesuit, born at Castelfidardo. He became a Provincial of his Order in Sicily. The title of the work mentioned in the text is as follows: "Instructio de modo rectè meditandi de rebus Divinis, ex Ital. in Lat. traducta à Jo. Busæo: accessit Fr: Arias exercitium de præsentiâ Dei, 8°. Mog. 1605." He also wrote "Vita Jesu Christi ex Evangeliorum contextu. Romæ 1607." He died at Rome, January 12th, 1613.

[2] David Baker, a learned English Benedictine, born at Abergavenny in 1575. His voluminous MSS. were printed by Reyner and Cressy, and the latter compiled from them the book which he published, under the title of "Sancta Sophia:—or Directions for the prayer of contemplation, 2 vols 8vo Douay 1657. Extracted from 40 treatises of Father Baker." Father Baker died in London, in 1641. He was a friend and correspondent of Camden, Cotton, Spelman, Selden, Godwin, etc. For a lengthy notice of him and his works see Dodd's *Church History*, iii, 115.

pose; and if they are ejaculatory, rather than long continued prayers, it will be best, according to the practice other kinds of acts of devotion, and which will afford a man better spirituall helps than any of all other bookes in the world. When he is advanced thus farr, and hath in some good measure furnished and composed his head and mortified and warm'd his heart, he may take a greater liberty in affectionate aspirations towards God, (the third sort of prayer or devotion) not confining himself so much as before to any form of words, but suffering the fire kindled in his breast to flame out, as occasion shall require, into some unpremediated effusions. For in some cases, and on such accounts, (when a man hath gotten a good stock of spirituall materialls, in head and heart, for prayer) extemporary prayer may bee allowed some place in private (but never, I think, in publike) provided there bee due care and discretion used that such liberty bee not greatly abused. The best concomitant of this holy duty of prayer, and help to make a progresse therein, is mortification of our corrupt nature; for no one can pray continually (as the Apostle advises) but he that mortifies and dyes dayly; nor can anyone mortify and dye daily that doth not pray continually. He that would make a progresse in either of these holy duties, must practice both; they are unseparable, and therefore he that desires to become a great proficient in Prayer (without which anyone will be a lamentable Christian and worse Minister) must set heartily about the duties of mortification, and there begin first with his sensuall inclinations and worldly affections, as preparatory to the greater and more difficult mortification of his spirit. And now here before I conclude this generall head of devotion, concerning which I haue been hitherto discoursing, let me advise and conjure my nephew to

consider the indispensable necessity of putting in practice these my exhortations, without which I dare pronounce, (and I would not willingly prove a true prophet) that he will neuer become a considerable Church-man; therefore he can by no means slip the present opportunity without frustrating both himself and friends of all their hopes. *Hic labor, hoc opus est:* this is that which ought to be the chief part of his endeavours."

(The rest is missing).

Young Roger Prideaux died in his twenty-eighth year, just four years after these Papers were written, and was buried at Farway, 15th February, 1684-5.

CHAPTER X.

REFERENCE has already been made more than once (pp. 19-22) to Mr. John Proud, who became the Archdeacon's Registrar, and continued a true and faithful servant and friend to him to the end of his life. From a letter written by Granville to Proud's father, dated June 8th, 1682, it appears that he had entered the Archdeacon's service about a year previously, having before that lived as clerk with Mr. John Basire.

Granville writes:—

"Since he has been under my roof, which is more than a year, I have made it my chief businesse to instruct him in Christian knowledge, and to fit him in good principles, that hee may become a serious and sober man, which is the best preparation for his future prosperity here in this world. And I hope my indeavours haue not been altogether fruitlesse for hee has as yet demeaned himself very civilly and deserves a good report. I haue not only taken care of his soule, but allso imployed him in some such businesses as haue been for his improvement, and which will make him a more usefull person for the time to come, and wherein hee has giuen mee such satisfaction that I haue in my eye to bestowe on him some imployment in my Ecclesiasticall Court, and give him liberty of continuing, however, my domestick, having his diet and some other conveniences with mee, as will make the office more beneficial to him than otherwise it might bee. For my imployments are of such a nature that they will not only keep him out of temptations to vice, and prove a very good way of education for

a young man, but afford him many other occasionall advantages in point of money, which are like to increase too, for the future. I suppose hee has brains enough to understand it, and is able to satisfy you and his mother that hee is in a very hopefull way, and it will not bee easy, I suppose, for you or any of his friends to find out a better place for him. If you, upon consideration, should judge otherwise, hee is your son, and you may freely dispose of him when and how you please. But you ought to bee very well advised before you take him home to you for good and all. For so setled a course of life, in the way of religion and honest businesse, is not every day to be found, especially for a young man that makes more hast than good speed to part from his kind benefactors, which those that take the pains to train him up in his youth ought to bee esteemed. Such deportment carryes with it some appearance of ingratitude and pride, which I haue not yet discovered in his nature. I haue so much kindnesse for the young man and for you, though a stranger to you, upon report, that I speake my minde very freely unto you."

There is a proof of the spiritual oversight which Granville kept over young Proud in a Paper still extant, entitled "Dr. Granvill's Instructions to his Servant for a Lent Exercise," but it is too lengthy for insertion here.

It is pleasing to find from one letter of this period that Mrs. Granville had so far recovered from her indisposition, which had caused so much unhappiness at the commencement of their married life, and which had separated them during the four years that Granville had spent abroad with his sister, that she was again living with him. Writing from Scarborough, 7th August, 1682, to Mr. John Basire, he says:—

"I writ to you by Hixon that after Sunday the thirteenth of this instant, you might come away when you please and fetch us home, and now I think fit to repeat the same by post, to let you know that wee shall be ready by that time, if you are ready with beasts and money to come and fetch us; but if you see any reason for a day, two or three's delay, I giue you liberty to choose your own day of setting forth and the road that wee shall return by, provided that wee haue our own coach, at least, to receive us at some convenient place the last daye's journey. Twenty pound, the sume you mentioned in your paper for Scarborough expences will bee the least that you can bring along with you, and where to get that and the other necessary sums you best know. The waters[1] do very well with us all, and I hope will do my wife more good than any remedy that shee has made use of a long time. The Germane Doctor is exceeding civil to us and does deserve to bee very handsomely gratified by us. All other matters in relation to our journey whether in point of conveniency, good husbandry, or grandieur, I refer to yourself and rest

"Your affectionate friend and servante,

"DENIS GRENVILLE.

"My wife gives you her service."

From the above letter it will be seen that Granville's money matters were still far from satisfactory; and in another letter, written to Mr. John Basire's brother, Granville writes that the payment of £100 which John Basire was pressing for:—

[1] The mineral spring at Scarborough appears to have been in some repute at this period. A book entitled *Scarborough Spaw* (12 mo., 1660) was written by Robert Wittie, Doctor of Physic, of King's College. He died in London in 1684.—Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*

"Does at present soe much disturb my brain, (tho' I know of nothing that I can doe to the promoting of it but saying to Proud, as I haue said, *Let it bee done, if it bee possible to bee done*) that I can hardly think of any other thing; notwithstanding it bee wholy out of my sphere, I having a little of that they call good nature, which is very ungovernable in mee, and makes mee feel some times other people's sufferings for mee more than I should, especially when they are persons that haue given mee a demonstration of their love, as your brother hath done. Hee is, I find, at an extraordinary pinch, and I am, in an extraordinary manner concerned for him, which is all the consolation I can giue him. Hee knows I cannot manage nor mind these money affaires, and therefore will not blame mee, if it bee not done. I send in Proud (on whom I do relye chiefly of all my domesticks to take of these troubles about my revenue from mee) to waite upon you and to represent unto you the utmost that wee are able to doe. The moneys he has is absolutely necessary for dayly expences, and where wee shall get more for the house in my absence, or for my journey up, I cannot yet forsee; both which must bee taken care for likewise with all expedition; and I hope Proud and you will take it into consideration while you are together; for I would faine beginne my journey, if possible, this day fortnight, and spend a few dayes, before I take coach at York, with Dr. Comber, concerning the stile, phrase or method of my sermon, who shall be the only person I shall consult about it here in the north."

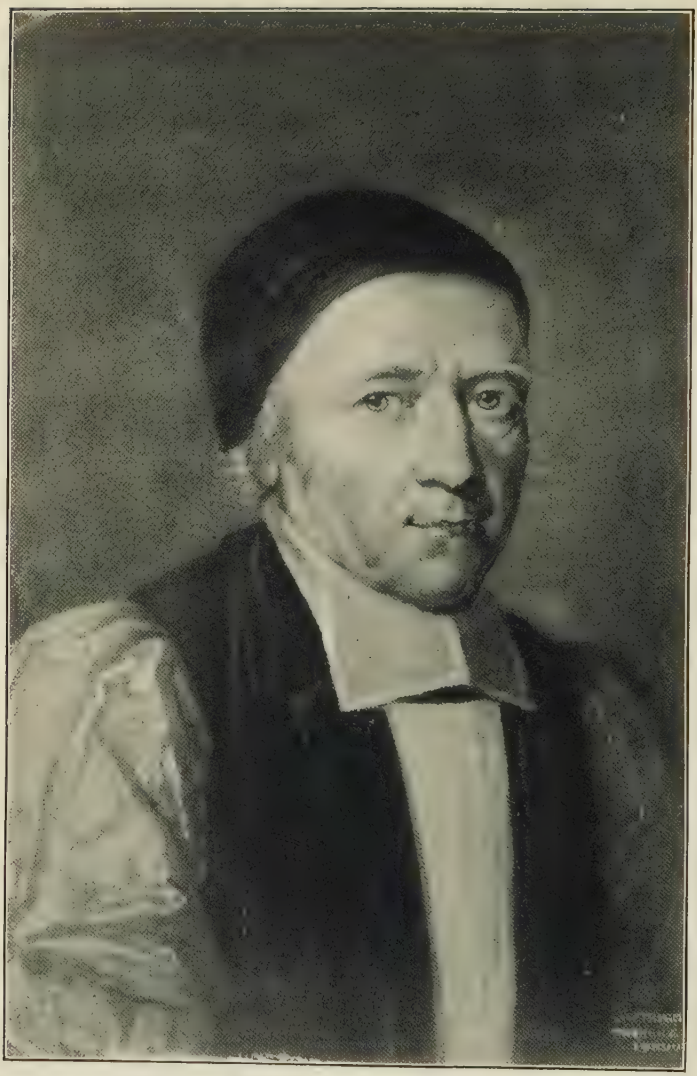
The sermon to which he alludes was the sermon which he was to preach before the King in his first attendance at Court. This preachment was causing him no little anxiety; "my honour and interest, as well as my conscience,

are as much concerned in it as in any action of my life. It has come into my mind and fill'd my head with soe many variety of thoughts of that nature, that I was fit for no other businesse, which required invention, before I had discharged my head of them, and did accordingly, on a new text, whereon I had never preached, runne of halfe a sermon at liesure hours last week while I staid at Durham; and if I could but haue secured another week here at Easington, before I had met with any thing that had disturb'd my head and put mee out of tune, I do not doubt but I should haue runne of the other halfe in the same straine, and made it all of a piece, as I am afraid now it will bee hardly possible fore mee to doe."

We are fortunate in having a portion of the journal which Granville kept during his first attendance at Court as Chaplain, in 1683. We shall see that he embraced every opportunity of advancing his views as to strict conformity with the rubrics, especially in relation to Daily Prayers and Weekly Communions, and his abhorrence of pulpit prayers, an artifice by which the nonconformists endeavoured to undermine the liturgy of the Church of England. Very few fragments of his journal are in existence, but this one is headed:—

"Some passages in relation to strict conformity during my abode at London, in my converse with the Clergy and other eminent persons, 1683.

"$168\frac{2}{3}$ I came to London on the 16th of February, and could not put myself in a posture to appeare abroad til the 19th.



WILLIAM SANCROFT, D.D., ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

"Feb. 20. On the 20th, being Shrove Tuesday, I dined with the Archbishop of Canterbury, where I met with Dr. Beveridge and sundry eminent Divines.

"After dinner, in the Chaplain's chamber, they begunne some discourse among them concerning the Comon Prayer book, how necessary it was, at this time more especially, for ministers to bee strictly conformable thereunto, according to my own nocion of conformity; and Dr. Beveridg and two of my Lord's Chaplains, Dr. . . .[1] and Mr. Morace and Mr. Stanley[2] did consent thereunto. The others present made noe opposicion.

"Wednesday the 21st, being Ash Wednesday, in the afternoon I went to prayers at Ely House, and afterwards supp'd with Bishopp Gunning, who did very well approve of my honest zeal in keeping the Cleargy of my Jurisdiction to the strict observance of the Rubrick, and declared that hee thought an obstinate refusall soe to doe was indictable.

"On Thursday the 22nd I went to visit Mr. Seamour, the author of the "Advice to the Readers of the Comon Prayer," who very well approved of Ministers' observacion of their rule, and said hee thought it of very bad consequence that they did not all goe one way, especially as to the observacion of the 55th Canon.

"On Friday the 23rd I waited on Mr. L'Estrange,[3] who jump'd with mee very much in all things which I said concerning order and discipline.

"Sunday after, being the 25th, after Evening Prayer I went to wait on my Lord of Danby, and discoursing there

[1] Blank in original.

[2] Prebendary in St. Paul's Cathedral.

[3] Author of the *Alliance of Divine Offices.*

concerning the necessity of Ministers keeping close to the very letter of the Rubrick, as the only expedient perfectly to root out non-conformity etc., hee replyed that it was a great part of wisdome both in Church and State to keep strictly to our rule.

"On Saturday the 3rd of March Dr. Beveridge came to visit mee at my lodgings in Cornhill, where wee entred very speedily on discourse of our Common Prayer Book (the usual subject of our conversacion when wee met) and more particularly concerning the great advantage of Weekly Communions, according to the designe of our Church. Hee told mee hee conceived that it was intended (and did not doubt that it would bee effected) by the Bishopp of London to set up the weekly celebration of the Sacrament in St. Paul's Church, as soon as it should bee finished, and promised that hee would make it the businesse of his thoughts in the meane time to ascertain and facilitate that good work: reflection on which afforded mee much comfort. Vpon some farther discourse upon that commendable and pious work of his, in setting up a Weekly Sacrament in his Church, hee told mee that in one of our King's reigne since the Reformacion (I think it was Henry the 8th or Edward the 6th) there was a Royal Addresse made to the Cleargy, censuring the people, and more especially the Churchwardens, for not providing Bread and Wine for the Communion, *by whose negligence it came to passe* (to use the King's own words) *that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper could not be administered on the Lord's Day.*

"March 13. On the 13th of March, after some retirement upon the account of study, I went a second time to waite upon my Lord of Canterbury, and walking with his Grace in his gallery, I took occasion to let him know that,

according to the practice and advice of Bishopp Cosins, and his grace while hee lived in the Bishopprick, I had press'd the Cleargy for many years together to study their Common Prayer-book, and on mencion that there were many who did not relish that phrase, hee replyed that it was an argument of very great ignorance for any person to imagine that the Common Prayer-book, next the Bible, did not require the chiefest study. After which, discoursing of the great pains Bishopp Cosins had taken in his Notes and Observations on the Liturgy, written with his own hand, remaining in the Bishopp's Library now at Durham, hee did very seriously commend that labour of Bishopp Cosins as an excellent work, adding that in one of Bishopp Cosin's Common Prayer-books I should find some things written by his Grace's own hand.

"At dinner his Grace, upon my beginning some discourse concerning the translation of the Liturgy into sundry languages,[1] condemned an expression in the first Greek translation in the form of absolution; the author, who t'was affirm'd was one Whiteaker or one Petley of Oxford, rendring Ministers τοῖς διακόνοις and thereupon declared that a Deacon could not read soe much as the first declarative Absolution; but after I had offer'd all the arguments that could bee used for a Deacon in that behalfe, drawn from the Rubrick in the Ordinacion Office, did not giue mee perfect satisfaction in that particular, why a Deacon should bee allowed to baptize, in the absence of the Preist, by the Ordination Office, and should be debarr'd to read the first Absolution, which is but declaratiue. Before his Grace had ended his meale, hee ask'd Dr. Turner whether his brother the Archdeacon could giue as good an account of

[1] Greek, Latins, French, Spanish, Danish, Low Dutch, High Dutch.

the conformity of Northumberland as I had done of the Bishopprick of Durham. I interposed to doe a good office for my brother Archdeacon, and assured his Grace that Northumberland was very much improved in point of conformity, and that some part of it was more conformable than any diocesse in England except the Bishopprick of Durham, especially the town of New Castle, which, without all dispute, I told his Grace, was in as good circumstances as any great sea port town in England. His grace asked mee whether I would not except Bristow. I answered I Conceived I ought not. The good seed sown by Dr. Basire, beginning now by the cultivacion of a very able and worthy officiall and Vicar, (both whom had done great things in their respective places), to spring up apace, and that there was not now one publick conventicle in the town, and if there were any that did meet at all, it was some few by night, according to the example of the primitive Christians. To which his Grace replyed, "Noe, it was not like the primitive Christians, but like thieves and robbers to doe mischief.

"27. On Tuesday the 27th I went again to dine with his Grace my Lord of Canterbury, who did very kindly receive a letter which I presented from Dr. Comber, very well approving of all his designs, more particularly against Dr. B., whereof I gave Dr. Comber an account. After dinner my lord's Chaplaine Mr. Batteley[1] invited mee with other Divines and company to take a pipe of tobacco in his chamber. There I met with my good friend Dr. Beveridge and one Dr. Hasket, Prebend of Windsor, two other Divines of whose names I am ignorant, and Sir

[1] Afterwards Archdeacon of Canterbury and Chaplain to Archbishop Tillotson, whose sermons he published.

William Heywood. I fell very speedily upon my old topic of conformity, and drew the discourse as much as I could that way; and though I press'd it according to the practice of Bishopp Cosins, and my own nocion of conformity, without giving the least liberty to the exercise of prudence, yet I met with no opposicion in any particular, and some hearty approbacion in a great many. Every one rejoyced very much that there was soe great a change in London for the better, both in priest and people, and did hope the cleargy of London would at length see the necessity of going one way, which is much to be wished they all consented. At last wee all came to the root of our nonconformity, namely pulpit prayers, which discourse was very pertinently begunne by Sir William Heywood, who seemed to be a sober, learned, and judicious person,[1] and all condemned the extemporary prayers to bee a great feeder of fanaticisme. Whereupon I took an occasion to improve the discourse and declared my mind that I thought all prayers in the pulpit, whether extemporary or a forme of private composure, being certainly a breach of the law, were of very bad consequence, tho' they were never soe short, and the expresse words of the Canon. Sir William seem'd to bee of my mind, and upon my quoting a late piece come forth called "The Old Puritan detected and defeated" hee informed mee that the author thereof was Dr. Steward,[2] who was alwaies a very zealous man against this way, as well as Bishopp Cosins, and the other cleargy that were abroad with the King at the Pallace Royall where

[1] "A great pretender to English antiquities" is Evelyn's less complimentary opinion of him.

[2] Richard Steward or Stuart, LL.D., Dean of Westminster. The work alluded to was published anonymously, 4to, London, 1602.

they did unanimously observe Bidding of Prayer, during the King's abode at Paris, and that those chaplains of the King who lived to returne with his Majestie, namely Dr. Cosins, Dr. Earles,[1] etc., did hope to haue given check to the contrary practice in England by introducing the observacion of the 55th Canon in the King's Chappel, which was accordingly observed by the two Archbishopps and some of the most eminent Bishopps and Cleargy, more especially by those that had given undeniable proof that they were loyall persons and right church-men, from whence all the Cleargy of England certainly then ought to haue taken their measures, which if they had done, without dispute wee had been in much happier circumstances than wee are. After which this worthy knight did very pleasantly expose all those who thought themselves through conformists, and continued in this unaccountable practice, in acting one of those pulpit praying cleargymen in manner following:—

"Wee haue hitherto *prated*, but now let us *pray*.

"And again thus:—

"Brethren it is true wee have praying in the voice of "the Church, but now wee'le *pray better*.

"31. I went to visit Dr. Beveridge, and upon enquiry where to find the former particular concerning the want of Bread and Wine for the administration of the Sacrament on the Lord's Day, hee told mee that it was a letter written by the Council, Anno 3° Ed. 6ti, and that I might find the same letter in the 2d part of Dr. Burnet's History of the Reformacion, p. 191, where I found the expression to bee this '*by reason whereof*' meaning the want of Bread of Wine '*the Communion is many times omitted on the Sunday.*

[1] Afterwards successively Bishop of Worcester and Salisbury.

"April 1. Being Palm-Sunday, I went to hear my Lord of Canterbury preach before his Majestie, to take my measures from his practice, in order to my own preaching before the King, and to my great satisfaction found that hee gave no incouragement by his practice, more than the Deane of the Chappell, to the notorious irregularity of preachers, even in the King's Chappell, in using a prayer before the Sermon (and sometimes a very long one) but first named his text, which was taken out of the Epistle for the first Sunday in Lent (*Behold now is the accepted time etc.*) then made his preface, divided his text, and afterward bid his prayer, according to the usuall practice at Durham. And in the conclusion of his sermon, took notice of the season of Lent and week following, minding people that this Scripture, being of the Church's choice, and read in the beginning of Lent, to stir us up to, and set us right in, our duty for the whole season, ought to bee regarded in a special manner by us. Which, together with some other passages of the like nature, did sufficiently justify my practice in preaching, and pressing others to preach, *de tempore*, and giving a more than ordinary regard to the voice of God in the Scriptures chosen by the Church for the particular times and seasons and occasions throughout the whole service.

"3. Being Tuesday in Passion Week, a gentleman in Dr. Beveridge's congregation informed mee of a certaine piece lately published called 'Parish Churches turned into Conventicles,' which condemned all variations from the established rule of worshipp, the Comon Prayer-book, and more particularly the reading the Communion Service, or any part thereof, in the desk; which I bought that day at Mr. Clavel's and read much to my satisfaction, sending one of them away that very post, inclosed in a cover, to the

Vicar of New Castle, at which time I sent away four other pamphlets against pulpit-prayers (called 'The Old Puritan, etc.' one to Mr. Rawlet, Lecturer of St. Nicholas in New Castle, another to Parson Majors of All Hallows in the same town, a third to the Officiall of Northumberland, and the fourth to the Commissary of Richmond.

"6. Being Good-Friday, Mr. John Basire informed mee hee had met with a sermon which did vindicate that point which I had all along my ministry pressed with much zeale, namely the observation of the public rule of God's worshipp without exaltation of our own prudence above the Church's. I found the sermon to bee Dr. Stillingfleet's, Deane of Paul's, his sermon very famous against the mischieves of separacion, which I had read, but did not consider, I confesse, that it was soe much to my purpose. For which informacion I thank'd Mr. Basire, it being the only act that I can remember hee has done this six moneths like a good Register.

"9. Being at my lord Hawley's, and discoursing of long prayers in the pulpit, hee occasionally informed mee, as others had done, that Dr. Steward was the author of the pamphlet stiled 'The Old Puritan, etc.'

"23. Being St. George's Day, I dined againe with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and my Lord of London and the Attourney Generall[1] dining there that day, some discourse arose about Prohibitions and exempt places, in reference to both which Mr. Attourney declared himselfe very favourable to the Church. 1st that there was no place exempt by law etc. 2dly that Prohibitions should rarely bee granted, but the Cleargy should not bee discouraged in honest proceedings for feare of Prohibitions

[1] Sir Robert Sawyer.

which were not soe easilye granted as people did imagine or pretend. I judging thereby that hee was right sett for the Church tooke an occasion at table to ask his judgment concerning the instructions which Judge Gregory gave to the Jury in my cause with Midford[1]; but the table being noe proper place to argue the businesse fully, hee did not apprehend the businesse right, as I conceived, affirming that (neither) the Judge nor Jury did mee any wrong, for what I said after the Nicene Creed was not in Divine Service; at whose opinion I wonder'd more than at Judge Gregorie's. After dinner being invited by Mr. Battely into his chamber, with the Archdeacon of Colchester, the Archdeacon of Chichester, one Dr. Waters and others, I resumed the discourse, and argued the matter with them, and convinced them soe as not to oppose it. Tho' my friend Dr. Beverige, Archdeacon of Colchester, seem'd least perswaded of all, which was farther ground of admiracion to mee.

"24. I went to take my leave of Bishop Gunning, and beg his blessing, where I met with Dr. Saywell, Archdeacon of Ely, with whom I did discourse concerning '*The Old Puritan*' and '*Parish Churches turned into Conventicles etc.*'; and they both agreed with mee in these great points, affirming that it was by the artifice of pulpit prayers that the separatist hath done his businesse all along. In the evening I supped with Mr. L'Estrange, who, when I had related to him the former story concerning Midford, was of another mind than Judge Gregory or the Attourney Generall, and concluded it ridiculous to fancy that what was done betwixt the Nicene Creed and Sermon was not in time of Divine Service.

[1] See page 246.

"25th. On this day of the month I removed to Windsor, in order to my attendance at Court. Immediately after my arrivall I went to visit Dr. Montague, who from my Lord of Durham desired mee to supplie his lordship's place in the Closet during the stay hee should make at Cambridge. I forwardly accepted of the same, as a good occasion of training mee up into confidence, being then preparing to preach before his majestie.

"27th. The 27th the Provost of Eaton, Dr. Cradock, came to invite Dr. Montague to dinner, and finding mee with him and the chaplaines in waiting, carried us all off in his coach to his lodgings to dine with him. The Divines present, with the Provost Dr. Montague and myself, were Dr. Petters, Dr. Low and Dr. Hascot. After much discourse upon the present state of things, I recommended to their consideration the great necessity of a thorough conformity and observation of the 55th Canon. The Provost of Eaton agreed with mee, and bewailed the unhappinesse of the Church in that her Governors had slip'd soe many precious opportunityes in their diocesses, which Bishopp Cosins had with great success embraced in his own; and did in a very particular manner reflect upon the inconvenience of pulpit prayers, affirming it was his practice to bid prayer alwaies, withall telling mee that hee had an occasion at Whitehall to show some resolution in the justification of that practice. Dr. Croft, Bishopp of Hereford, whilst hee was Deane of the King's Chappell, sent to him, as the Provost affirme'd, to forbid him to bid prayer, as most preachers at that time did, but that hee continued however his former practice; taking noe notice of the order of the Deane of the Chappel, who had, as hee conceived, no authority ouer the King's Chaplians. At the same time I minded him of the publication of Dr. Stuart's little piece, concerning the mischief of pulpit

prayers, and promised to send him one of them the next day, which I did accordingly, desiring his opinion concerning it, and my zeal in opposing such irregularities.

" 29th. The 29th I met the Provost among some other Divines where the King was at dinner. Hee came to mee and thank'd mee for my letter and the pamphlet which I sent him, and declared he was of the same opinion as Dr. Stuart, and that there was a great deale of reason for what hee writ, but that there being such different opinions concerning the sense of the Canon, and such insuperable prejudices against the practice, the strict enjoyneing of the same was matter of discretion.

" May 4th. Dining with my brethren the Chaplaines in waiting, with Mr. White, the Duke's Chaplaine, formerly Minister of Nework, wee fell upon some discourse about conformity; and to set them right in their nocions about conformity, I took an occasion to affirme that there could be noe conformity if men took the liberty to exercise their own prudence, as the generality of Cleargy that call themselves conformists did; whereupon the Deane of Wells took up the cudgels, and disputed against mee somewhat disingenuously, (but, methought, very little to the purpose) saying that it was not the intent of the Church that men should bee tyed up to such small matters as Bidding of Prayer, reading the Service at the Communion Table, not varying a word before or after a Lesson, not adding a word before the Creed, nor after (alter?) any expression of the Prayers, or cut of a prayer on occasion; shewing a little more zeale, methought, in his opposicion than good manners would allow; using this expression, that those that were soe very zealous for such little things could hardly sometimes speak sense in a pulpit; which was a home thrust, and very provoking. However I conteined myself without

retorting in any angry manner, but I record the same with an intent to make him ashamed thereof before I dye; being a foule aspersion of all true church-men, which the Church sadly wants, whiles she abounds with dow-baked Deanes. I am sure I heard as little sense from him there in the chamber as hee affirmed some spake in the pulpit, for when I press'd the point home, minding him that tho' there might bee some liberty for prudence in the observacion of the Canons, yet that it was intolerable conceitnesse for a person to use it in the execution of his office, injoyned by the Common Prayer-book which had been so lately renew'd and stamp'd with authority both sacred and civil, and whereto wee had all giuen our assent and consent publickly in a congregation, hee replyed, methought, nothing to the purpose, and shewed more anger than reason, which probably was occasioned by a kind of rebuke which I had giuen him the day before for two or three errors hee had committed in reading prayers in the King's Chappel. Mr. White of Nework (from whom I expected better things, being famous for conformity while hee lived there) seemed to bee of the same mind, using this expression which did very much displease, namely, that "hee did admire that men should think such small matters worthy of a dispute' by which, and by disputing for a pulpit prayer, I perceive hee is no true churchman of the right stamp.

"17th. Being Holy Thursday I waited on my Lord Primate of Scotland (Dr. Burnet, Archbishopp of St. Andrew's) to beg his benediction, which I did at that time more readily doe, being then to mount the pulpit before the King, which I had never done before, notwithstanding I had been two and twenty years his Majesties Chaplaine. His Grace received mee with a great deale of respect, and entertained mee with very obliging and condescending

discourse. After a while I made bold to inquire into the state of Scotland, saying to the Archbishopp that I rejoiced very much to hear it was advancing on soe far towards good order, whereof hee gave mee further assurance, telling mee that he had lately received a letter from the Bishopp of Glascoe,[1] that there was a great progresse made since hee left Scotland, and that the dissenters there began to come to Church in soe great numbers that their churches could not conteine them, whereon hee had very good hopes, by God's blessing, they may yet bee a well settled and happy nacion. All which hee told mee, next under God, was to bee attributed to his Royall Highnesse's presence in that country. Upon my inquiry what order they had in their Churches, and whether they did not make use of Knox's Liturgy, hee informed mee that they had not done soe a great while, and that of late they made use of noe formes at all, scarce ever using the Lord's Prayer, unlesse sometimes in the celebration of the Sacraments, their prayers generally being of their own private composure, and most commonly *ex tempore*. Which state of their Church in want of a Liturgy hee sadly bewailed, as allsoe that they had not at first, after the King's Restauracion, attempted to introduce the Liturgy of the Church of England, together with Bishopps; which hee and the Bishopps of Scotland were now convinced they might have done with as little trouble as they did the other. I took an occasion to informe him of the state of our diocese of Durham, and how Bishopp Cosins did set us to observe their rule; which hee confessed to be a very wise course, agreeing with mee that if all Bishopps in England had done the same, their diocesses

[1] Arthur Ross was Bishop of Glascow 1679-1684, in which year he was translated to St. Andrew's.

might have been in the same circumstances of conformity that the Bishopprick of Durham is in at present.

"20th. Being the 3d Sunday in the moneth when I preached before the King, coming into the King's withdrawing room, I met with Sir Leoline Jenkins, who as soon as hee espied mee at a great distance ranne to mee very obligingly, bestowing a great complement on mee for my sermon, and before I could have opportunity to beg pardon for the letters wherewith I had troubled him, he took an occasion to thank mee for them, and incouraged mee to write to him upon any occasion without the least scruple, saying that to serve the Church and churchmen was part of his businesse, and that hee never thought it a burthen to receive any applications upon that account. Hee further enquired of mee what was become of my troublesome adversary. I informed him that hee was alive but as bad a man, I feared, as ever, tho' hee was indifferent quiet at present, and soe had continued ever since the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament. I thought this a fair opportunity to repeate the chief heads of that dispute unto him, whereto hee seemed very attentive, and when I related Judg Gregory's instructions to the Jury, hee declaring upon the bench that hee could not say that the disturbance was in time of Divine Service, etc., hee seemed to bee in great admiraccion, saying, that if the disturbance had happened betwixt the two services, it ought to bee look'd upon in time of Divine Service, they following one immediately after another, before the departure of the congregacion. The Secretary further demanded of mee whether Midford was not still bound to the good behaviour or peace, adding that if hee was not hee ought to bee, and that it was very easy to find out some just reasons to keep such a turbulent person bound to one or the other. Talking afterwards

concerning our bench and the execution of the law, I had an occasion to say to him that I was very happy in the concurrence of one Justice of Peace, who was very willing to keep pace with me in my honest undertakings and to assist mee in all my difficulties in the execution of my office, that is Dr. Basire's eldest son, Mr. Isaac Basire. Hee replyed that hee had heard very worthy things of him, and that hee was well satisfied, hee was a good Justice of Peace. I told him that he might assure the King of it, and that he was a person as likely as any in the north to undergoe the brunt in difficult times for the interest of the King and the Church.

"[The chief persons present when I preach'd at Court were as followeth:—in the Closet, the Earle of Northumberland, my lord Faversham, my lord Arran, Sir Charles Cotterell,[1] Prince Adolphus and his son, of Sweden. Below in the Chappel; my Lord Keeper,[2] Duke of Ormond, the Marquesse of Worcester, the Earle of Rochester, my lord Rannelow, Mr. Secretary Jenkins, the Vice Chamberlaine and Mr. Sidney Godolphin].

"May 16th. Dr. Cartwright walking with the Subdean, Dr. Holden, in St. George's Hall, had the confidence, in my hearing, to censure all the painting of the Hall and Castle of Windsor, done by the famous Italian Signiore Verrioe, saying it was most pitifull painting, and that hee had mistaken in his proportions sometimes a foot, sometimes half a yard, exclaiming against all the painting at Windsor in friscoe, which the greatest painters alive doe admire, and ranne on with great assurance, til the Subdeane and I was forced to rebuke him. A day or two after

[1] Master of the Ceremonies.
[2] Sir Francis North, Lord Guilford.

meeting with Dr. Sprat wee had some discourse concerning Dr. Cartwright, and among other things wee were in great admiracion at this confidence of his in soe boldly condemning such admirable work, which occasioned Dr. Sprat to tell another story of him, that hee had in his company likewise runne on in exclaiming against the painting at Windsor, til hee had made himself ridiculous saying that there was better painting than that in twenty ale-houses in the Bishopprick of Durham.

"On Whitsun Monday dining with Dr. Montague wee once more fell on some discourse of Dr. Cartwright, diverting ourselves a while at this his behaviour; and at last Dr. Montague tells a story of him, how hee said among some of the Prebends of Windsor that hee had a room soe large in his house that St. George's Chappel at Windsor would stand in it!

"22th. I waited againe on the Primate of Scotland, and after some discourse on the wonderfull Providence of God in raising up soe considerable a number of able persons in the Church of England to maintaine her doctrine and discipline, notwithstanding the great intervall of religion and learning during the times of the rebellion, and that it was so great a mark of God's love that it gave us some considerable ground of hopes that wee might yet see England a happy and well settled nation, whereof wee had noe reason to despair, since we saw, blessed bee God, London metamorphised soe much for the better etc. I humbly offer'd, as the best completing of much felicity, the great necessity of a strict conformity, according to the Acts of Parliament, without any exercise of prudence farther than was allowed. His Grace perfectly agreed with mee, very much condemning the liberty that ministers took in varying from their rule, and adding that as St. James saith in refer-

ence to the law of God, '*hee that offendeth in one, is guilty of all*,' soe it would hold in reference to the Magistrate and Churche's authority, that hee that lived in the constant breach of any one clear law of the Comon Prayer-Book, confirm'd by Act of Parliament, was to be look'd upon as a contemner both of the King and the Church. I alsoe recommended to his Grace's consideration, the breach of rubrick in the King's Chappell, which I conceived was a very bad example to the clergy of the nation, occasioning them to take false measures; and when I particulariz'd in the cutting of of the first lesson and letany constantly on Sundayes, and great part of the Comunion-service at all celebrations, hee greatly wondered, saying that whatever liberty the King took in his private closet that it could no way be justified to take any in the publick Chappell, whereto, without doubt, the Act of Uniformity did extend. Lastly I demanded his Grace's judgment concerning Dr. Stewards little piece 'The old Puritan etc.,' which I perceived hee had neuer seen, and promised to send it to him; but he runne on very largely in commendation of the author as an incomparable preacher and person of very sound principles and good life.

"24th. I sent the little piece of Dr. Steward's before mentioned to the Archbishopp, and met with him the same day at court, in the King's withdrawing roome, where hee gave mee thanks for the book and said hee was perfectly of his judgment, and that it was fit for ministers to goe one way.

"27th. Being Whitsunday, I dined with Mr. Secretary Jenkins, where I met with Sir William Dugdel,[1] Sir William

[1] The eminent antiquary and herald, author of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, etc.

Basset, and two other gentlemen; and after much discourse about a great discovery of coyners and clippers in Wilkshire, Dorcetshire, and Summersetshire, Sir William Dugdel began some discourse concerning his progresse into the north which he made in the year 1666, and spake much in comendation of Bishopp Cosins and Dr. Basiere, highly commending the conformity of the place, and more particularly the observation of the 55th canon, and telling me a story of Dr. Burnet, how hee took an occasion to admonish him for omitting, in the first volume of his History of the Reformation, the Bidding of Prayer in Edward the 6th's time etc., and that Dr. Burnet confessed it an error, and promised to take notice of it in the publication of the second volume, but that the Doctor failed to doe it, and thereon censured him to bee a man very deficient in integrity. Sir William did voluntarily inlarge very much upon this point of Bidding Prayer, and confessed that the contrary practice was a shiboleth whereby to distinguish the fanatick party, and that if the liberty which ministers take bee not seasonably check'd, it may ones more runne down the liturgy. After this wee had some discourse concerning Newcastle; and upon my informing him that it was brought to a very great degree of conformity by the zeal and diligence of the Officiall of Northumberland and the Vicar, whereat he did heartily rejoyce, hee demanded some questions concerning Mr. Isaac Basire, whether hee was a man of parts etc., which was a topick whereon I did inlarge not to the prejudice of Mr. Isaac Basire and family.

"30th. On the 30th of May Dr. Cullam came to my lodging and brought with him Mr. Wyat the University Orator of Oxford, who was to waite in the month of June, as deputy for his son, and discoursing somewhat of the liberty which was taken in retrenching some part of the

service in reading the Closet prayers, hee told mee a story of Dr. Ansley, when he served as Clark of the Closet to his Majestie, while his Majesty came to St. George's Chappell; how Dr. Ansley sent to the Deane of Windsor and another to himself, to curtaile the service by leaving out the lesson at the King's ordinary Closet prayers, and reading only the litany upon Wensdayes and Frydaies but that they refused to receive any orders from him and afterwards make application to the King, and the King approved what they had done, and upon their informing him that hee never had the litany in his own Chappell on Sunday mornings, shewed some displeasure thereat.

"June 2. Saturday being the second of June my brother Grenville[1] carried mee into the Bedchamber to take my leaue of his Majesty. As soon as I had made a low obeysance upon my entrance, the King comes away imediately to mee from the farther part of the roome, and spake to me very kindly to this effect which I have penn'd down in the very words as near as I can remember. 'You are now returning I suppose into the north?' I replyed to his Majesty, Yes, and that I did intend to leaue the Court Monday following; whereupon the King added 'I am very well satisfied with the loyalty and conformity of the country, and with your own in a particular manner. Remember mee kindly to all my hearty friends, and incourage them to doe their duty, assuring them from mee that I will stand by them. Farewell. God bee with you; I thank you.' Whereupon I kneeled down and his Majesty gave mee his hand. Imediately before the King said 'Farewell etc.' I replyed wee had great incouragement to doe our

[1] The Hon. Bernard Granville, one of the Grooms of the Bedchamber to King Charles II.

duty in the Bishoprick of Durham, and should bee more than ordinary to blame, if we did not doe it, it being more easy than elsewhere, it being without dispute the most exemplary county for good order and conformity of any in the nation. 'I believe it,' says the King with a gracious nod, and then spake as I haue mentioned 'Farewell etc.'

"June 3. Sunday morning, waiting in the Closet, as soon as the Minister began prayer in the pulpit (the King's attention whereto I made lesse conscience of interrupting than other parts of the service) I took an occasion to speak to the King, first making Dr. Montague's excuse, as hee had desired mee, and therewithall presenting him with Dr. Stuart's little piece against pulpit prayers. The King asked mee how I did know it was Dr. Stuarts. I told him that the bookseller for whom it was printed did informe me soe. The King shaked his head, and said that was not enough. I then added that Sir William Heywood did informe mee soe. Says the King 'Did Sir William Heywood tell you soe? thats somewhat; I'll read it': and thereupon glancing his eye on the title page and turning two or three leaves of it, held it in his hand till the sermon was almost ended, and then put it in his pocket. Sunday evening, attending by the Duke's Bedchamber and watching an opportunity to take my leaue of his Royall Highnesse, Secretary Jenkins came in and waited there a considerable time to speak with the Duke. I took an occasion to let him know I was going for Oxford and would take it as a great honour if hee had any commands for mee. 'I pray giue my service' saith hee 'to my Lord Bishopp of Oxford and Mr. Vice-Chancellor? After this, observing the Secretary to wait there a considerable time, some mutuall discourse passing on such subjects as did occasionally present themselves, no body being present with

the Secretary but Mr. Cary, the Master of the buckhounds and myself, I took an occasion to ask him whether hee had ever met with a little piece of Dr. Stuart's (shewing the mischieves of pulpit prayers) which I had taken the boldnesse to put into the King's hand that morning while I did my duty in the Closet. He told mee hee had neuer seen it before hee saw the King reading it in the Bedchamber: whereupon I took one out of my pocket and presented him therewith, saying that I thought it a subject very worthy of consideration, especially now at this criticall time, when men seem to bee convinced by sad experience of the necessity of a higher pitch of conformity than has been generally practised of late in the nation. Hee reads the title page and says 'Truly soe it is': adding, after he had glanced his eye on some parts thereof, 'it is to bee wished that the clergy did goe all one way'; 'and more especially,' says I 'in his Majesty's Chappell.' 'Mr. Archdeacon' (says the Secretary) you are in the right; which gaue me an occasion to say several things, concerning God's service and conformity, to the Secretary, who gaue very great attention; which may, by God's blessing, in time doe the Church some service.

"The same evening my brother Grenville told mee that the King had some further discourse concerning mee, speaking some kind things of mee, in approbation of my honest zeal for his Majesty's and the Churche's service, and incouraging mee to giue an account sometimes to the Secretary of such persons as were most negligent in the discharge of their duty.

"After this I went to give a visit to my Lord Primate of Scotland, who, according to his wonted manner, received mee with a great deale of kindnesse, and in his discourse took an occasion to repeate his commendation of the good

order and conformity of our Diocesse, saying that Bishopp Cosins was a great man and an excellent governor; and invited mee to dine with him next day, which I did accordingly; and having an opportunity to discourse many things concerning the good order and regularity of a Churchman, which his Grace seemed well to approve of, I was much confirmed in my notion of conformity. After which I took my leaue of him, humbly craving his benediction.

"4th. On Monday the 4th my brother came to my chamber and I demanded of him whether the King had read the little piece which I presented to him the day before in the Closet, and what his Majesty said concerning it. My brother told mee that the King had read the greatest part of it, but was not throughly satisfied that is was Dr. Stuart's, tho' he seemed well pleased that I had presented it to him, saying to this effect, 'I see your brother is a lover of order and a strict observation of the Churche's rules, which I like very well, and hee does very well to indeavour to tread in the steps of Dr. Stuart, for hee cannot set before his eyes a better patterne than that worthy man, who was one of the best preachers that ever I heard in my life, and one of the best men that ever I knew, giving himself up wholly to devotion.'

"13th. On Wednesday the 13th I came from Taplow (where I had spent a whole week in assisting my good old aunt Dennys[1] in her sicknesse) to Beconsfield, where I waited for a passage in the London coach to Oxford, and had the honour to bee received into the coach of a young

[1] Gertrude, the youngest and only surviving sister of Sir Bevil Granville. She married, first, Christopher Harris, of Lanrest, co. Devon, and, secondly, Anthony Dennis, of Orleigh, near Bideford, whom she survived 42 years. She ended her days at Taplow, with her daughter, Lady Hampson, aged 86.

Prince of Sueden, son to Prince Adolphus, uncle to the King of Sueden, who being present at Windsor, when I preach'd before the King and attended at the King's elbow in the Closet, remembred my face, and being told that I was a brother of the Earle of Bathe's, from whom hee had received some officious services, shewed mee great favour all along the journey. Hee demanded of mee, after I came into the coach, what languages I could speak best. I replyed that I understood the Latine, but could explaine myself better in French, whereupon hee and a German lord with him, as allsoe his chaplaine, which seemed to be a very learned man, discoursed with mee oftentimes in French, and sometimes in Latin. They seem'd all to bee very much satisfied with the order of the Church of England. I demanded of the Chaplaine whether hee had ever read our Liturgy, and hee told mee hee had seen it but neuer read much of it: whereupon I took out my Latin Comon Prayer-book. Hee seemed to bee much satisfyed therewith, and confessed wee had retained very much of the practices of the Primitive Church, and more particularly that wee had retain'd Confession, Absolution, and soe many Feasts and Fasts, all which hee said their Church did observe, unlesse the four Ember-weeks; but hee told mee that he was a little scandaliz'd that the people did not better observe the Feasts, according to the order of the Church, saying that hee was much offended to find Ascension-day very much contemned by the people of London, observing the shops in the town to be generally open on that day.

"15th. Friday the 15th. The University having ended all their complements and ceremonies in the reception of the Prince, and admitting him and his retinue to severall degrees, I went to wait on the Bishopp of Oxford and beg his benediction; and after

I had thank'd him for the obliging letter hee writ mee about the weekly celebration of the Comunion in Cathedralls etc., and hee had inquired whether I had succeeded in my honest attempt in reviving the rubrick at Durham that does injoyne the same, wee entred upon some discourse concerning the usuall objections which are made against soe laudable and pious a practice, and hee declared that he did not think any of those that had been offer'd to mee by the Deane and Prebends valid, condemning that which they seem'd to lay the greatest stresse in, namely that there was no likelyhood to haue a sufficient number to keep up the dignity of that Holy Mystery, saying that wee should bee first concerned for the essence of the thing, and administer it with the smallest number rather than not at all. As for any arguments they brought against it upon the account of desuetude or innovation, he thought very weak and frivolous, and having commended my designe, and cautioned mee against all boistrous proceedings, hee proposed to mee the stirring up some devout people, ladyes or gentlemen, to desire the same from the Deane and Chapter, as the best expedient to effect that good work, saying that the Deane and Prebends could not justifye the denial thereof, and besides it was a very plausible way for them to steal into their duty, without exposing themselves for their past omissions and neglects.

"The same night I begunne some discourse about the same subject with my worthy friend Dr. Bury, Rector of Exeter College, and did, almost daily during my stay there, talk with him more or lesse about it. His zeal seemed much to outstrip mine in this particular, and was exceedingly positive that it ought to be a constant concomitant of all Feasts as well as the Sunday etc. But this shall suffice concerning Dr. Bury's judgment, since it is

soe fully declared in the two editions of his usefull and learned treatise 'The Constant Communicant,' Vide the book itself.

"18th. Monday the 18th. I went to the Publick Library in Oxford, where I found out the first Common Prayer-book of Edward the 6th, which I had searched for a great while with great diligence but could not discover; and there among many other usefull observations, which I pen'd down, I met with what I sought after, namely that there was at that time in Cathedrals and some other places, a daily celebration of the Comunion, whereof I neuer before had assurance, tho' I was alwaies apt to believe it was soe, from the rubrick which saith the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for the Sunday shall serve all the week after.

"During my stay at Oxford, I had frequent occasion to discourse with the Bishopp and many others concerning the worthy zeal and diligence of the Official of Northumberland and Vicar of Newcastle, in having brought that town to an exemplary state of conformity, considering it is a sea-port town and a Corporation; which is a topick that I much oftner discoursed on than is noted in this book.

"20th. Being the day before my departure from the University, I went to give a visit to the learned Mr. Dodwell,[1] who, tho' a man of no extraordinary presence, yet hee appears to bee a person of great learning and sincerity. After a complement at first entrance in relation to those learned books that hee hath published I demanded his judgment concerning conformity and the Holy Sacrament. First, whether the Comon Prayer-book does giue

[1] Henry Dodwell, a learned critic and theologian, Camden Professor of History at Oxford. The author of *The Natural Mortality of the Soul*, and many other works.

any liberty for the exercise of prudence. Secondly, whether that strict conformity which the book requires it not at present very seasonable to bee practised. Thirdly, whether it was not both pious and prudent to restore the celebration of the Sacrament weekly in Cathedralls. He answered the first in the negatiue, and the two last in the affirmatiue.

"21st. Upon my returne from Oxford to Taplow I went to see Mr. Bradock, Curate to Mr. Levet, Minister of Taplow, where I found Dr. Evans, Prebend of Windsor, who in his discourse concerning some greivances of the Church did instance in a clause which was now left out in Acts of Parliament, to the great prejudice of the Cleargy. In the first Acts after the King's Restoration, there was provision made that there should no damage ensue to the Clergy by levying money without the consent of the Convocation: but in these latter there was (as the Doctor inform'd mee) no mention at all made of any thing to that purpose; which ground lost, wee all judg'd would bee very difficultly recover'd. Mr. Bradock made mention at the same time of an Act of Parliament wherein there was a grosse error and mistake as to point of time, which Hickeringill[1] takes notice of and is in the right.

"23th. The three and twentieth, being Mid-summer

[1] Edmund Hickeringill, a clergyman of eccentric character, was born in Essex in 1630. He received his education at Cambridge, after which he became a lieutenant in the army and went to Jamaica, of which island he published a description. On entering into Orders, he obtained the vicarage of Boxsted in Essex, and afterwards the rectory of All Saints, in Colchester. "Although episcopally ordained, he publickly bade defiance to the Prelacy, and that of his own Diocesan in particular; an impudent, violent, ignorant fellow, very troublesome as far as he could to his Diocesan, and to all that lived near him."—*Kennett's Register*, vol. i. 809.

eve, I lodg'd at Mr. Bull's at Moreclack, where I preach'd the day following, and was much satisfied to find that place, which had been very factious, supplyed by a worthy person, one Mr. Jones, who reads the service very orderly, observed daily prayers, and celebrated the Sacrament monethly, and had been instrumentall a little while before in suppressing a very considerable conventicle. From thence I went down the river to London, and the first Sunday after my arrival I went to Dr. Beveridge's, for the satisfaction of receiving the Sacrament which he celebrated weekly in his parish-church, and I found, much to my satisfaction, that the worthy Dr. had in complayance with some arguments that I had used, changed his practice of addressing himself to God in a precatory way before his sermon into the canonical form of Bidding Prayer, according to the 55th Canon; whose example, I doubt not, will prevaile upon most of the Cleargy of the City, who goe a contrary way.

"July 3rd. I went to wait on Sir Thomas Exton, who upon our discourse concerning Mr. Midford's interrupting mee in time of Divine Service, declared that the instructions which Judge G. gaue to the Jury were very od, and that hee admired how any body could fancy what was done in the midst of Divine Service was not done in time of Divine Service."

(The rest is missing).

CHAPTER XI.

RICHARD Sterne, Archbishop of York, died on the 18th of June, 1683, at the age of eighty-seven. So long as he had lived there was no likelihood of the Weekly Communion being restored in the Metropolitan Church of the Northern Province; but, on the appointment of John Dolben, Bishop of Rochester, as his successor, Granville at once seizes the opportunity of writing to Archbishop Sancroft, urging him to press the subject on the new Archbishop. The following is his letter:—

FROM ARCHDEACON GRANVILLE TO ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,—Being perfectly assured of the great zeal that you haue, not only for the interest of the Church of England in general, but of the particular affection and regard that you haue to the Diocess of Durham, I am incouraged to undertake this present piece of boldness in disturbing your Grace with a letter to beg your countenance in an honest design for the House of God. The good advice which I haue had many times from Bishop Cosins, and sometimes from yourself, to study my Comon Prayer-Book, hath engaged mee soe heartily therein for many years past, that I now see soe much beauty in that incomparable composure, and find soe much pleasure and profit in the consideration of the matter and method, the design and history of the book, that I find it impossible

for mee to desist from the prosecution of the same as long as I live, which is a task I find more than enough for the longest life.

"And in the new and serious consideration of the rubricks of the Comon Prayer, I have been often struck with great admiration that soe many of my brethren of the Clergy should skip over two rules which are, methinks, of essentiall obligation to every churchman, namely, for *Daily Prayers* in Parish Churches, and *Weekly Sacraments*, at least, in Cathedrals. If they could forget the solemn promise that they made in the presence of God and face of a congregation, when they give an assent and consent to all the rules of the Book (which I haue euer esteem'd little inferior to an oath) it is strange that they should be altogether unmindfull of those duties which are, above all others, incumbent upon every good priest; I meane to offer up daily prayers and praises to Almighty God in behalf of the whole Church as well as the particular congregations which they serve; and to administer the Holy Eucharist soe frequently as the circumstances of the people or place where they live do require or will allow of. These ommissions of dutyes of such high moment among the greatest part of the clergy of every diocess has occasioned often times much grief to my soul; the dislike whereof in others has stirr'd mee up to indeavour to rectify the same within my Jurisdiction; which (I bless God) I haue done, in some measure, having gotten in the most considerable country parishes Daily Prayers and Monethly Sacraments; and I could prevaile with many other places to observe the like good order, if our Cathedral did not authorize the breach of law in having no weekly Sacrament. Hereupon, my lord, I haue for late years often addressed myself to Mr. Deane and my brethren of the Chapter to reform this

irregularity, but without success; but now do, in most humble manner, address myself to your Grace that you would bee pleased to giue some little intimation to Mr. Deane of Durham (who has a great veneration for your Grace) that hee would comply in this particular, and permit the weekly celebration in his Cathedral whereto hee has been often moved: or, if you would judg meet, rather to give some hint to my Lord Arch-Bishop of York to restore this holy practice in that Cathedral, it would not only haue influence over Durham, but the whole Province, the Church of Durham and some other Cathedrals alledging, in their own defence, that there is no weekly celebration of the Sacrament in the Metropolitical Church, which ought to lead others by her example. My Lord, I should not dare to give your Grace this trouble, were not this an extra-ordinary conjuncture (I mean at the establishment of a new Arch-bishop) which would trouble my conscience to let slip, since my Jurisdiction would receive soe much advantage thereby. I had thought, my lord, often when I waited upon your Grace at Lambeth to haue moved you herein but want of confidence or opportunity did hinder mee, whereat I haue been much disturb'd. Dr. Beveridge, who I hope will do me the favour to deliver this letter with his own hands, will say, I trust, somewhat for the promotion of this good work.

"Begging your Grace's pardon and benediction I
"I subscribe myself,
"Your Grace's most faithfull, obedient, and humble
"servant,
"DENIS GRENVILLE.

"Durham,
"25 Sept. 1683."

It is evident that Granville's earnestness in moving Archbishop Sancroft to write to the new Archbishop of York produced some result, for Archbishop Dolben wrote to Sancroft as follows:—

FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,—Although the welcome lasts still in its importunity, even to the exclusion of necessary businesse, yet was your Grace's diversion, as most seasonable, soe most pleasing to me, because it gives me a pretence of great authority to propose what hath bin this fourtnight in my thoughts. To deale plainly with your Grace, I wanted some such assistance. The men I haue to deale with being an odde sort of people, which made me deferre the mention of this matter till I get Dr. Comber amongst them. He will be enstalled the next Tuesday. After that I will consult with him which way to conduct our designe. I know it will not please, and yet hope it will succeed, because it must. I beg your Grace's leaue to produce your letter, which I think answers beforehand all objections.

"My lord, soe farre I had written when Dr. Comber came to me. I shew'd him your Grace's letter, told him my thoughts upon it, and shew'd him likewise what I had written in part of an answer. He seem'd much affected to the designe, acknowledg'd the expresse obligation from the rubrick, yet said that Archdeacon Grenvile could not prevaile in Durham, and that (notwithstanding the rubrick) it was call'd an innovation, I am sorry to say by whom: and if by him, sayes he, what shall we expect from our secular brethren? What from Mr. C., who agrees now perfectly with him upon the deare principle of worldly interest?

He concluded with a promise of his utmost assistance, which will availe us litle till he come to reside, which will not be till Candlemas. One objection we both apprehended that the thing would grow into contempt if the communicants be few, which we haue too much cause to feare, for want of zeale in ——— besides other reasons. To this I know your Grace hath already answer'd in your mind, we must hope and endeavour and pray. Upon the whole matter, when your Grace hath an account of your owne Church I beseech you advertise me of it as solemnly as you please, and together send me a copy of your circular letter. I must again say all help will be litle enough. I was afraid to be particular concerning persons for feare my letter might miscarry. But if it doe, I haue said too much already, wherefore I will adventure a little further; my purpose is to begin in private with the most hopeful man, *Man*[1] yet even of him I am not confident. *Conveniunt in aliquo tertio.* On St. Luke's day I heard your old sizer preach in the Cathedral. Truly he is a good preacher, and my Chancelor assures me he hath been heroically honest in the late yeares of trial, quite contrary to Mr. C. for whom somebody desired your Grace to speak to me. He is a politique demagogue, who yet may be useful had I credit and art enough to manage him. God Almighty guide and assist us all. I beg your Grace's prayers for

"Your Grace's most faithful humble servant,

"JOH. EBOR.

"Oct. 20.

"For the Most Reverend Father in God
"William Lord Archbishop of Can-
"terbury his Grace, at Lambeth."

[1] Rev. Charles Man, who was a great friend of Dr. Comber. He was Rector of Scawton.

Archbishop Sancroft, it will be noted, had issued a circular Letter on the subject of Weekly Communion throughout his Province, and had caused the custom to be revived at Canterbury. In a letter from Tillotson to Sancroft, written from Canterbury, October 11th, 1683, the Dean says:—

"As to the rubrick concerning the Communion in Cathedral churches every Sunday, I moved it last week to the Chapter and we resolved to begin it next month, which was assoone as we could engage a convenient number of communicants; and I am very glad your Grace designes it throughout your Province, because it is plainly requir'd, and will, I doubt not, be of good example, and of great efficacy to promote piety."

In May, 1684, we find that Dr. Comber wrote as follows upon the subject of the Weekly Communion in York Cathedral to Archbishop Sancroft:—

"We are here very happy in him, [Archbishop Dolben] for he is very actiue in his station, but still the weekly communions do not take. I have moved it with modesty and am not denyed, but the thing is deferred for a while. I hope it may shortly do."

There is one more letter that must find a place in this correspondence on the Weekly Sacrament, since it relates to a passage in Granville's Journal and to his letter to Sancroft above.

FROM ARCHDEACON GRANVILLE TO SIR WILLIAM DUGDALE.

"WORTHY SIR,—Before I had the happiness and honour to meet you at Mr. Secretary Jenkin's (when I was at Windsor) I was sufficiently assured both from your works and report, that you were a person of great integrity as well as learning; but til that time I did not understand you to bee (what is very hard to find even among the clergy, I meane) a true Church-man, a lover of order and exact conformity, not allowing any liberty to exalt private prudence above the Church's.

"This encouraged mee to present you with a small treatise before I left London of Dr. Stuart's concerning Bidding of Prayer, hoping that soe considerable a man as yourself might put a helping hand to the banishing the irregularity out of the King's Chappel.

"And the same consideration doth now again invite mee to recomend unto you, as I haue done to some learned clergy, this inclosed paper of Quæries touching the Holy Comunion, humbly beseeching you, if you can now or hereafter, giue me, or procure for mee, any light in all or any of these particulars, that you would be pleased to convey it to mee in a line or two, directed for Mr. Grenville, Archdeacon of Durham, at Durham.

"The occasion, Sir, whereof is this. I am informed that his Grace, my lord of Canterbury, hath detirmined on setting up a weekly celebration of the Holy Comunion, according to the rubrick, in the Church of Canterbury; and that my lord Arch-bishop of York is likewise doing the same in his Cathedral, and that they are both writing letters to the Bishops within their Provinces, to follow their example; a noble work of piety which will prove to their

everlasting honour, and very much facilitate conformity in the land, which hath been very much wounded by the bad example of Cathedrals, who haue (for the most part) authorized the breach of law, in omitting the weekly celebration of the Eucharist, which hath not been constantly celebrated on Sundayes in any Cathedrals but Christ Church, Ely, and Worcester. The revival of this rubric hath been very long the burden of my thoughts, and it hath now rejoyced my soul to understand that wee are now in soe fair a probability for having this good and pious work re-established, which hath been too long neglected, to the great decay of devotion and conformity. And I am now (since the receipt of this intelligence, concerning the Archbishops' seasonable zeal for God's worship) using some fresh indeavours to prevaile with Mr. Deane and the prebends of Durham to rectify this great irregularity in our own Cathedral, and the better to prevaile with them to celebrate the Comunion weekly (which some think a mighty work of supererogation) I am forced to trace out the history of the Eucharist from the very beginning of the Reformation, believing that people will cease their wonder at a weekly celebration, when they are convinced that there was a Daily celebration of the Sacrament established in all Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches, in the beginning, and neuer abolished, but only faln to the ground by the indevotion of the age, and bee ashamed to oppose weekly Sacraments, when the rubrick (if it bee strictly examined) doth, at this very day, suppose daily ones. Vide rubrick after Comunion.

"Your assistance, Sir, in this particular would bee an extraordinary obligation to mee and some other clergymen, who join with mee in the address, and the prosecution of the very same design. And the solution of these quæries will bee of importance not only to our own Church here but

likewise to some others in the other Province, who startle at the very mention of a Weekly Comunion, crying out, it is the way to make people belieue wee are bringing in the Mass. Some wise men of the clergy of these parts are of opinion that you are the fittest person in England to help mee on this account, or at least to recomend mee some books or persons, who can inform mee herein. The books that I and some others are at present turning, in order hereunto, are Heylin, Cyp. Red, and Reform. of the Church, Bishop Jewel, Fox's Martyr, Paul's life of Whitgift, Bishop Andrew's life and works, Burnet's History of the Reformation, Q. Elizabeth and Edward the sixth's Injunctions, Goodwin's Lives etc. If you can inform mee of any better authours to make a discovery of what I seek after I shall heartily thank you. I know, Sir, that the disturbance which I give you with soe long a letter, may seem neither prudent nor mannerly. But I perceive you soe tenderly affected towards the interest of the religion established in the Church of England, that I presume on your pardon; since all that I aime at is only the honour of God's service, and the edification of my Jurisdiction; the most populous towns whereof I do not doubt to raise to monethly comunions, when our Cathedral (which hath been famous for conformity in all things but this) is once come up to a weekly celebration; which was the only considerable matter in our Cathedral or Diocess which Bishop Cosins left uncompleted.

"Sir, I haue had a very hard game to play these twenty yeares (which time I haue been Arch-deacon of Durham) in maintaining the exact order which Bishop Cosins set on foot here, since arguments haue been brought against mee oftentimes (no Diocess in England having kept pace with us) from the practice of the generality of eminent clergy

elsewhere, and sometime from the practice of the very Cathedrals. In consideration whereof you will bee soe kind, I hope, to a poor, feeble Churchman (that would faine make good that ground which was happily gained here by our worthy deceased prelate) as to afford him a little countenance and assistance in those matters which you haue been conversant in, in relation to Bishop Cosin's notion of conformity, which I find very few to approve of or understand.

"It did very much rejoyce my soul when I discovered among the laity so eminent a champion for our Comon Prayer Book as yourself, who appear to mee very right set in all things, and particularly in the matter of Bidding of Prayer, the very criterion of a true Church of England man. Praying to God to increase the number of such good friends to the interest of our Church, and reward you and yours in an especial manner for your real love to our poor despised Liturgy, I do, with great sincerity and affection, subscribe myself, Sir,

"Your most faithfull humble servant,

"DENIS GRENVILLE.

"Sir Willm Dugdale."

(Paper inclosed).

"CERTAINE QUÆRES TOUCHING THE HOLY "COMMUNION.

1. How long the Daily Comunion in Cathedrals and other places (established instead of the Mass by Edward the sixth, vide 1st Common Prayer Book, Edw. 6th) did continue?

"2. Whether it did ever obtain in all Cathedrals?

"3. In what Arch-bishop's time that holy practice began to bee neglected?

"4. Whether Weekly Communions on Sundays and Holydayes in Cathedrals were not observed, after the Daily Comunion fell into disuse?

"5. Whether some Cathedrals did not (down to our late rebellion) still keep up this holy practice, in celebrating the Holy Comunion at least weekly, and which they were?

"6. Whether there were not in Cathedrals, at least in the metropolitical churches, Comunions on the Festivals as well as Sundayes, after the Daily Communion fell into disuse?

Apparently Granville sent these Queries to many of the learned clergy, and we have the answer of one, viz., Dr. Comber, who writes:—

"I have found in our old books (at York) a very mortyfying record for your design; for in searching them I find no footsteps of any Weekly Sacrament at York, and not so much as a Monthly Sacrament till Dean Meriton's time, for it is registered that for the future, from the 7th of Septemb., 1617, there should be a Sacrament at the Cathedrall on the first Sunday of every month, and so it continued untill the warrs and was restored with the King, and now continues. Whence it is cleer that before that yeer, 1617 there were no Sacraments but only at the great Festivals, and it should be considered whether this age will bear greater height of duty then was required in King James his time? I confesse if men would take care to prepare duly, the oftner they came the better, but I see that many of those who use frequent communion grow slight in the performance, and spend the Saturday till late at night in accounts, visits, businesse, and idle talk, which is an offence to me, who have more satisfaction in doing

it well once a month, with a due care to prepare well the day before, then in all the other four times if I should thus come to it. However I shall not oppose the weekly Sacrament, but rather promote it as soon as I see our great ones encourage the thing, and in the mean time you must think of benè as well as sœpè, or else religion will rather loose than gain by reviving this long sleeping rubric."

Granville's second attendance at Court commenced on the 10th of April, 1684; where he met Dr. Turner, the Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Windsor, who "thanked me for the letter I sent him about the revivall of the Weekly Sacrament in his Cathedrall. He excused him selfe for not answering it, but declares that when he comes to Rochester hee will set it up, telling mee also that hee intends to doe the same at Windsor, and that hee had set up Prayers at 7 o'clock in the morning and 8 o'clock at night, to bee read for servants and the souldiers. Moreover the Bishop inquired whether the Weekly Sacrament was begun at Yorke, wondring very much that it was not done yet, when the Cathedralls in the Province of Canterbury advanced on apace, informing mee of one Cathedrall more that had begun this good order, which I had not heard of before, namely Gloster." And again on the 8th of May he writes:—"On Holy Thursday I waited on the Bishop of Rochester, who showed much forwardnesse and zeale for the promoting of Weekly Sacraments in Cathedralls, and after my presenting unto him the state of my parishes, as to the Monethly Celebration of the Communion, in each of them, and declaring unto him the number of people to bee soe considerable that it became burthensome to my Curates to discharge their duty in that particular, without the assistance of more than one person, hee

advised to celebrate the Communion oftener, and weekly if there were occasion. And when I replyed to him I was afraid to reproach the Cathedrall and the Metropoliticall Church, his Lordship answered that it was no matter provided my parishes would bear it."

Meanwhile, the health of the Dean of Durham became very feeble, and it was apparent that his life was in a most precarious state. The Bishop of Durham was very anxious to obtain the Deanery for his nephew, Dr. Montagu, fourth son of the Earl of Sandwich, whom he had collated to the Mastership of Sherburn Hospital, near Durham, four years previously. Sherburn Hospital had been originally founded by Bishop Hugh Pudsey in 1181, for lepers, but in 1429 (leprosy being then of rare occurrence) it had been converted by Bishop Langley into almshouses. It was richly endowed, and the Mastership, which was practically a sinecure, was worth between £300 and £400 a year. The following letters which the Bishop addressed to his Chancellor, Sir Richard Floyd, are both curious and amusing. He dilates in them at some length upon the relative advantages and disadvantages of the Deanery of Durham and the Mastership of Sherburn Hospital, and endeavours to induce Granville, whose prospects of succeeding Dean Sudbury he fully recognized, to content himself with Sherburn, while his nephew should be advanced to the Deanery.

FROM THE BISHOP OF DURHAM TO SIR R. FLOYD.

"SIR R. FLOYD,—The week before I left London I had the opportunity of waiting on the Earle of Bathe, and at the same time of discoursing with his lordshipp concerning his brother (the) Archdeacon, his circumstances and pre-

tensions to the Deanery of Durham on next vacancy. I haue so great an honour for that noble family, that I could not but mention what I thought most advantagious for his brother, and as I remember 'twas this; that if the Archdeacon was willing to quitt his claime to the Deanery, and would give over all his intrest for Dr. Montague to succeed there, the Hospitall of Sherburne, according to the Commissioners' rule for ecclesiasticall affaires as well as the Dr's other preferments, would become void by such a promotion. This Hospitall is free from trouble and attendance, and lyes conveniently betwixt Durham and Easington. The value of it, I am well assured, is better than 300[l] per annum cleare, besides the casualities of fines. This falling to my disposall, I shall most willingly conferre it on Dr. Grenville as an addition to what he now injoyes. All these together I am very confident are considerably beyond the Deanery, espetially considering the way of living the Dean will bee obliged to. My lord seemed well pleased with this proposall, and was inclinable to move his brother, as well for the sake of Dr. Montague as for his brother's sake. What his lordship hath done in this I know not, and therefore must desire that you would favour mee, as at your first conveniency, to communicate the contents hereof with my most humble service to his lordshipp; who was pleased to give mee leave to doe this. Whatever determination my lord and his brother Dr. shall make herein, will be satisfactory; and they may be assured of my reall services on all occasions.

"I am,

"Your affectionate friend and servant,

"N. DURESME.

"Durham Castle, May 24th.

"Dr. Grenville is now attending at Court this month, which is allmost expired, so that I hope you will speedily send mee an answer least hee should bee gon northward againe."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"AUCKLAND CASTLE,

"*Thursday, June* 26, 1684.

"SIR RICHARD FLOYD,—According to my promise last post, I now send you my mind as fully in answer to your inclosed paper as the straitnesse of the time would give mee leave. Nor can I thinke of any better method for enforcing my former proposall than what Mr. Archdeacon himselfe hath used in his deliberating thereon; who, to do him right, hath said as much as the thing can possibly beare. The inclosed will shew you my arguments on either side, and I can only add this farther, that if my Lord of Bathe and his brother Dr. shall bee pleased to promote my nephew being Deane of Durham, I shall most willingly bee kind to their nephew Sir George Wheler in assuring him of Dr. Grey's prebend whenever it falls into my disposall. Nay, farther, I shall as readily give Mr. Archdeacon an opportunity of pleasuring any freind with Dr. Grey's living of Weremouth, reputed commonly about 300[l] per annum, as soon as it falls into my gift, hee recomending a very worthy person unto mee for it. Both these probabilities (considering the great age and often infirmities of Dr. Grey) as soon or *before* the Deanery, which together with Sherburne for the Archdeacon himselfe, when Dr. Montagu is Deane, are the only advantages I can thinke proper in this case; unlesse this may be reckoned another, that upon my nephew's being Deane, I shall gladly substitute Dr. Grenville to attend the Closet in my absence, *sometimes*. This,

I confesse, may bee a very great step to his future preferment, and will much lessen his expences during the time of attendance, there being a constant diet with the chaplains for the Clark of the Closet and two servants, and when the Court is at Whitehall hee may (have) the conveniency of my appartment there, where he will bee in the midst of his relations. If what is here proposed bee not answerable to expectations, I shall rest as well satisfied in bestowing Easington and Sedgefield upon Dr. Montagu, when void by Dr. Grenville's being Deane, and that Dr. Montagu should quit his hospitall to his brother James, the youngest son of the late Lord Sandwich. When these changes may happen God knows, for tho' the Deane hath lately been much indisposed with a lame leg, yet he is recovering to a wonder and is very hearty. I pray favour mee once more in waiting on my Lord of Bathe with my most humble services, and acquaint his lordshipp with the contents of this letter and with the inclosed.

I am,

"Your very affectionate friend and servant,

"NATH. DURESME."

"THE ADVANTAGES OF SHERBURN HOSPITALL.

"1st. The present manager of this Hospitall, Mr. Delavall offers to rent it of Dr. Montagu, for seaven yeares together, at the rate of 340[l] per annum, cleerly providing all things necessary, according to custom and statute, for the poor brethren, except repaires, which, according to the Bishop's Injunction in his last Visitation there, are to bee made substantiall, whatever the charges bee to the present Master.

" 2. The casualty of fines (which were considerable last yeare) are wholy belonging to the Master.

" 3. This is free from tenths, first-fruits, residence and duty.

" 4. The Master is the sole patron of 2 or 3 livings, and hath the nomination of a Chaplain in the Hospitall, who is maintained, as well as other servants, upon the House stock. These, with the Curates and Deacons in Easington and Sedgefield, may be looked on as so many preferments for his friends.

" 5. The Master of this place is as great an Almoner as the Deane of Durham, there being thirty-two Alms-men in his disposall, sixteen whereof are allowed fourty shillings yearely and to live where they please; the other sixteen are sufficiently provided for within the Hospitall.

" 6. 'Tis a place of retirement upon an occasion; and the addition of this to the other preferments will more easily advance than one entire Dignity can; because the Deanery, tho' great, is only a provision for one; wheras Sherburn, the Prebend, Sedgefield, and the Archdeaconry, are singly, by themselves, so considerable that they are credittable substantiall preferments for so many severall persons, who by the variety of their interests can without difficulty shove a man up higher into a very good station.

" 7. The goods and cattels belonging to the House, left by the late Master, were valued at 200[l] and ought to haue been worth four hundred according to custome; but the Bishop, in consideration of the suffering of that Master, who was plunder'd for his loyalty, was pleased to dispense with a lesser stock, which yet may be advanced againe, according to the old custome, whensoever the present Master leaues it, which is to carry on the charges of the House, and to bee left to succeeding Masters.

"Disadvantages of the Deanery.

"1. Whatever the Archdeacon's present preferments are valued at, hee best knowes; but I am well assured that the Deanery, at the utmost, is not above thirteen hundred pounds per ann: and is likely to be lesse, considering the decay of rentes in his Corpse, and the dayly growing expences in repairing an old Church[1] and making a new costly organ,[2] in all which charges the Deane payes a double share.

"2. The Deane's negative voice is questionable in many things; and to bee sure can dispose of litle without the consent of the Chapter, which may often create troublesome disputes and may perhaps cause lapses of livings.

"3. 'Tis soe small a mark of favour to exchange the title of Archdeacon for that of Deane (these seeming not consistent in the same person in the same Cathedrall) that hee may reasonably hope for a better Dignity, considering, as I said before, the variety of preferments, and allso the attendance in Closet, as my letter mentions.

"4. In answer to the great expences in severall preferments, I thinke the great hospitality and the way of living, whereto the Dean is obliged by oath according to the statutes, very neare amount to as much extraordinary.

"5. Suppose something else might be held with this Deanery, (the greatnesse of which will hardly giue leaue for such a proposall) yet whatsoever is so held must beare its

[1] The claims on the Dean and Chapter for the repair of "the waste places," which Puritan misrule had left behind it, were very great at this time.

[2] The new costly organ, to which the Bishop alludes, is still in the Cathedral. It was built by the celebrated Father Smith.

share in all inconveniencyes, sesses of all sorts, repairs, removalls, spoyling goods, charges and board-wages of servants.

"6. The charges in passing the Greate Seale for the Deanery patent, and fees and intertainment at his installation, will cost at least an hundred pounds, whereas the addition of Sherburn will be quiet, and litle or no charges.

"7. If the Deane happen to dye soon after Michaellmas the whole yeare's revenue of his Corps, which is valued at 1000l, till the following Michaelmas, belongs to his executors and not to the succeeding Deane; such a casualty as this may happen."

Bishop Crewe's eagerness to persuade Granville to accept Sherburn, and to secure the Deanery for his nephew, is not altogether pleasant reading. Sherburn, however, presented its attractions to Granville in vain, and by some act on the part of the Bishop, in connection with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, it appears, the exchange became no longer feasible; and when Archbishop Sancroft opposed Granville's candidature for the Deanery, objecting that he "was not worthy of the least stall in Durham Church," Bishop Crewe supported Granville, and replied that "he would rather chose a gentleman than a silly fellow who knew nothing but books." To which the Archbishop made answer, "I beshrew thee."

On hearing that Sancroft opposed him, Granville addressed the following letter to him, in which he endeavoured to win him over to his side, and to apologise

for those financial scandals which had of late years tarnished his good name:—

FROM ARCHDEACON GRANVILLE TO ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,—It being no small mortification to me to want your Grace's hearty approbation to any preferment that I should either seek after or keep, I do (my lord) humbly present a few things to your consideration to procure the same, if possible; without which his Majesty's intended favour in reference to the Deanery of Durham, after Mr. Dean's death, will receive a great allay, and be mightily mitigated unto me.

"My lord, Sir George Wheler and Sir Henry Haywood have informed mee that your Grace was pleased to say your Grace *would not be my enemy* in my pretensions to hold my Archdeaconry with my other preferment. But (my lord) I can nowayes content myself with that, without labouring as much as in me lyes, that you may be my friend: which I do not despair my lord but you will be, when your Grace has thoroughly examin'd my case, and it shall appear unto you that I desire to hold nothing with the Deanery but what is as consistent therewith as it was with the Prebend; and whereof I can certainly discharge the dutyes much better than I did before, by reason I shall not be removed to any greater distance, tho' advanced to a higher station, which will afford me much greater authority and better advantages to struggle with all those difficultyes which I met withall in the past execution of my office.

"I will not say (my lord) that by the past managing of my revenue, I do deserve a greater: but it is so notorious that I do greatly need it, that I can in no good conscience,

while I am in debt, consent to the parting with what I can honestly keep. I do (my lord) confess to God and your Grace that it is my great sin that I am so much and so long in debt: but if your Grace knew all that hath unexpectedly befallen me, for these twenty years past, you would, I am assured, mix your censures with great pitty and compassion. I will say no more in justification of myself than I am in justice bound; namely, that I haue not spent my money in leudness or debauchery, and that most of my particular expenses haue been such that they would haue been laudable, if they had not exceeded my income.

" For God's sake, my lord, forgive what is past, and do not despair of me. I am four and twenty years older than when your Grace first knew me, and wise enough I hope by God's grace to avoid the chief errors of my past life.

" My lord I should haue waited on your Grace in person (and the sooner because my worthy friend Dr. Comber desired me to deliver the inclosed letter with my own hand) but that I am entred into a course of physick, which I must by the advice of Dr. Barwick continue in a few dayes.

" In all probability (my lord) the next post may bring in the news of the death of worthy Mr. Dean of Durham. And I humbly beseech you to think of Dr. Comber, and if your Grace haue any arguments to prevail with my Lord Bishop of Durham to bestow a Prebend on him, that you would use them.

" If His Majesty should be graciously pleased to remove me to the Deanery there will certainly be a vacancy, and there cannot be a worthier person than Dr. Comber found to fill it up. I made bold to name him the first of three deserving persons to my lord of Durham, but I perceiue that my Lord is fixed as to his chaplains or Lincoln Celledge men. And if my lord confines his kindness to

Lincoln Colledge I wish his lordship would (now or hereafter) think of Sir George Wheler; and the more because hee doth not think of himself.

"Begging your Grace's benediction, I rest, my lord,

"Your Grace's most obedient servant,

"DENIS GRENVILLE.

"Nov. 26, 1684."

Writing the same day from London to a Mr. Cradock on money matters, Mr. John Basire adds in a postcript:—

"You have the services of all that noble family and I haue a token from my lady Grenvile[1] for you, which is a sollid peece of silver out of her ladyship's mine, to be made into a snuffe box for Mr. Cradock.

"On Sunday last Sir Peter Wyche[2] was restored to his Resident's place at Hambrough: (he is) the Earle of Bathe's brother -in-law.

"The same day my Lord Lansdown[3] the King declared in Councell should goe envoy for Spain. They both kist his Majesties hand upon their imployments.

[1] This was Ann, the wife of Bernard Granville, the only child and heiress of Cuthbert Morley, of Hawnby, co. York, by Catharine, daughter of Francis, Earl of Scarsdale. There were copper mines on her estate which, however, were not worked successfully, and (as Mrs. Delany, her granddaughter, writes) "lost our family £2,000 a year."

[2] The Earl of Bath married Jane, the only surviving daughter of Sir Peter Wyche, Kt., who had been Ambassador at Constantinople for twelve years, and was afterwards Comptroller of the Household to King Charles I. It is his son, another Sir Peter Wyche, who is referred to in the postscript.

[3] This was Lord Bath's eldest son, Charles, now twenty-four years of age. He had served with such distinction in the various European wars of this period that the Emperor Leopold had created him the previous year a Count of the sacred Roman Empire.

"Yesterday my lord of Bathe returned from the west to Whitehall, well loaden with western charters.[1]

"His Majestie declares that Mr. Archdeacon Grenvile shall succeed the Dean of Durham in that Deanery (in case of his death) and he is likewise in a fair way of holding with it both Sedgfield and his Archdeaconry, tho' the Bishop of Durham puts in for both (as 'tis said) for Dr. Montagu, his nephew."

The Granvilles, therefore, were at this period in the highest favour at Court, and it is, therefore, not surprising to find that immediately upon the death of Dean Sudbury, Charles II. bestowed the much coveted Deanery on Dennis Granville, and, as Basire mentions in his postcript, permitted him also to retain his Archdeaconry and the rich livings of Sedgefield and Easington.

The following paper, with its quaint title, gives some amusing details as to how the thing was worked. It reads in somewhat marked and unhappy contrast to the "Occasional ejaculations and devotions," written seven years previously, "on reading in the Gazette the newes that there was great probability of the removal of the Dean of Durham." However, we must not be too severe on Granville and his great exuberance of spirits on at last obtaining a position that had more or less been promised him by the King for over ten years.

[1] Charles II., as is well known, brought writs of *quo warranto* against the Charter of the City of London, and by intrigue or intimidation obtained the surrender of that and almost every other Charter throughout the Kingdom. Lord Bath, no doubt, had been exercising his influence in the counties of Devon and Cornwall to this end. The new Charters granted by Charles II. generally gave the King an absolute veto on the election of Mayor and Aldermen, and power to get rid of any obnoxious members of the Corporation.

"Very Happy Acts of God's Providence towards ye Archd. of Durham.

"The Bishopp of Durham's negotiacion falling to ground through his own act; the seasonable and unexpected breach of y^e^ Ecclesiasticall Commission; the infirmityes of a cough, and a lame legg, together with many necessary impediments from any secular affairs detaining me in y^e^ South till y^e^ D. of D. fell into an irrecoverable condicion; the prolongment of y^e^ D's life, whilst my Brothers and best friends were absent, till their arrivall; sundry happy opportunityes of refreshing y^e^ King's memory concerning his promiss of y^e^ Deanery, improved to y^e^ uttermost by his relacions and particularly by kind Lady B.[1] His Majesty himself offering a fair occasion to her Ladyship, to remind him of his intended favour to his poor Chaplain, without which a woman could not properly have moved; Providence presenting my Brother whilst in Corn-wall a fit occasion to write to y^e^ King, and therein to exercise his affection towards his Brother by a very seasonable postcript. A happy concurrence of affairs, not only to wipe of all prejudices betwixt Bishopp and Archdeacon, but to bring in Sir G. W.[2] into his Lordship's favour to be fixed in y^e^ Bishopprick of Durham. A person so usefull, as well as his Lady, as if God by his speciall Providence had linked them together, and sent her into y^e^ world and him into y^e^ Church, to help a poor, weak Archdeacon in y^e^ execution of his office, and deliver him out of his troubles.

[1] Who Lady B. was is not known. Was she his sister-in-law, the Countess of Bath, or his northern friend, Lady Barnard, of Raby Castle, who appears as a kind friend to him in after-years, when in exile?

[2] Sir George Wheler, who married the Dean's niece, Grace Higgons.

"O Lord open thou my Lips.

"And my mouth shall shew forth thy praise.

"Glory bee to y^e^ Father, and to y^e^ Son, and to y^e^ Holy Ghost.

"As it was in y^e^ Beginning, is now: and euer shall bee World without end. Amen. Hallelujah.

"Blessing and Glory and wisdom and thancksgiuing and honour and Power and might, bee vnto our God for euer and euer. Amen. Hallelujah."

As soon as the news of his appointment to the Deanery was known, congratulations began to flow in from relations and friends alike. The following letter is from his nephew, Bevill Granville, the eldest son of his brother, Bernard; he was serving as captain in Lord Bath's regiment abroad at this time, and the following year was knighted, at the head of the regiment, on Hounslow Heath, by James II.

"PARIS, 3 *January*, 1685.

"SIR,—I can't omitt any longer taking the liberty to give you these assurances of my duty, since I may at y^e^ same time congratulate with you your so long expected Deanery, and should be very glad of an occasion (hoping then you would excuse y^e^ trouble) to doe it every new year with the same advantage. As for my own part I should account myself very happy might I by any service deserve y^e^ favours you have already bin pleased to lay upon me, and be able to let you see that 'tis not more my duty then

DENNIS GRANVILLE, D.D., DEAN OF DURHAM.

ÆTAT. 54.

inclination att all times to approve myself with the greatest respect possible,

"Sir,
"Your most dutyfull Nephew and most
"obedient and humble Servant,
"BEVILL GRANVILLE.

"My most humble duty
"to my Aunt."

[Addressed:—] "To the Honourable Dr. Granville,
"Dean of Durham, at Durham."

[Endorsed:—] "Paris, January 3d, . . . $8\frac{4}{5}$
"Mr. Bevill Grenvill."

His old friend, Dr. Beveridge, Rector of St. Peter's, Cornhill, and who had lately been appointed Archdeacon of Colchester, writes very warmly to congratulate him; Granville had retired to his house, which had been placed at his disposal, and was undertaking his duty for him at St. Peter's.

ARCHDEACON BEVERIDGE TO DEAN GRANVILLE.

"REVEREND SIR,—This is to congratulate not only yourself but our whole Church, and particularly that of Durham, in your so well deserved advancement in it, which I do not question but by the blessing and assistance of God you will improve to His glory and His Churche's good. I am mighty glad that you haue at length a prospect of accomplishing what you haue been so long endeavouring, even of getting up the Weekly Communion in that Cathedral, which will certainly be the best work you can begin your office with, and that which will be as acceptable to God as it profitable and advantageous to all pious and devout soules. I take it as an extraordinary kindness that you

haue been pleased to pitch upon and accept of my house for a place of retyrement, and desire you would be as free there as if you were at home, and command not only what the house but the city can afford for your entertaynment, which if you would vouchsafe to doe, I shall allwayes acknowledge myself obliged to you for it. For whatsoever else may be wanting, you may assure yourself of as hearty a welcome as ever you can haue in the Deanry of Durham when settled there. By the short intimation you giue me that my Church will be taken care of next Sunday I please myself with the hopes that you yourself will doe me and my congregation the favour as to supply my place not only in the pulpit but at the holy Altar, which is a great satisfaction to me, and so it will be to my people too. My lord of Canterbury's great undeserved kindness in conferring this place upon me hath occasioned my absence a great while. But next week I hope, by the blessing of God, to return home, and then I hope to haue the happyness to enjoy your good company; in the meanwhile I commend you to the protection and assistance of Almighty God in all your affayres, and desire that you would doe the like for

"Yr truly affectionate friend and brother,

"Will Beveridge.

"Canterbury,
"Dec. 4, 1684.

"My humble service to our worthy friend Sr George Wheeler.

"These for the Reverend Dr. Grenville
"at Dr. Beveridge's house in Corbet Court
"in Gracechurch Street
"London."

The Rev. Patrick Robertson, who had been the Dean's curate at Sedgefield from 1680 to 1683, writes, on hearing of the late Dean's death:—

"I hear that the Dean of Durham is gone to his long home. I doubt not of your succession, but will not congratulate on it least I seem, which I ahborre, to flatter, or sing the Triumph before the completion of the victory. But I hope my next journey to Durham will give me the satisfaction of soul to see that Church in better order, and the Table of the Lord furnished every Lord's Day with guests that desyre to serue God after the primitive manner, or as near as they can. . . I pray God preserue you to continue an ornament to your Church and Nation and a countenancer of all that are religious and loyall."

Another welcome letter was one from Mr. Oley, who had so warmly supported his efforts in the matter of the weekly communions. Although only the final paragraph contains the congratulations, the whole letter is worthy of reproduction.

MR. OLEY TO DEAN GRANVILLE.

"HONOURABLE AND REVEREND SIR,—Salutem et officia in X^to^ Jesu. As I did much rejoice at the receipt of your first gracious letter, so I cannot but more condole the losse of the second. But to loose letters that come to me directed to my house in Woster has been frequently injurious to me. I lost two that came from my good lord the present Bishop of Ely, some out of Ireland, where I had a constant intelligence with some Yorkshire ladyes committed to my assistance by Bishop Fern; one, that tho' maryed to Col. Talbot, yet by my poor help of sending her letters, books, and getting good assistance from my Lord Bishop of

Kildare, etc., lived and dyed most piously and joyfully, confident and comfortable in our Church of England, to the great admiration of her husband, who sayd he thought our religion could not haue produced such a person: as also an other aged woman, who made the papists astonisht at her good life and comfortable death in our Church.

"These and others more, I heard were sent to me thither. But I could not trace them to my house, as I haue since proved (to the vile mayd servant's face) that one letter (I sent to a sad friend whom I left at my house when I went away, and shee was suddenly called within 6 or 8 days after) that one letter was brought 3 or 4 times to the house, and the servant would not give it house room till the partyes return. This I attribute to her former education under a puritane, whose leven was not purged out.

"But, most worthy Revd. Sir, my complaint for the losse of your second letter doth not discharge my dutie of gratitude for any one of the three, much lesse for all the three so signall and significant favours bestowed upon mee. I do here desire your charitie to think I haue a longing mind in a very few words to expresse a multitude of most humble and hartie thanks for your great condescension to acquaint a man of so low a degree of abilities and merits with your goodly designes. The less I am able to advise, the more am I bound to beseech Him Whose Name is Wonderfull, Counsellour, to assist and direct you in *that peice of advice to the young scholars in the Universities.* If it be not pass the press already I would humbly pray you to look over the short, smal, but weighty and worthy treatise of the Reverend worthy Mr. Thorndike's, printed 14 yeares agoe. The title is "A Discourse of the Forbearance, or the penalties which a due reformation requireth." There in the 7th, 94th, 110th, 164th

pages, you will see the good that the Clergie are bound to, which if they neglect or be not able to perform, the Reformation can not stand, p. 7: then other passages.

"Besides, their excesses in pouders and periwiggs, and long hair, rideing in long gowns and new lay fashioned coats above them; their excess in drinking wine, new-found liquors etc., though not to be drunk, yet too much, very much more than was used etc. are worthy to be taxed and reformed. The Lord God enable his sacred Majestie and the holy Bishops etc. to attempt and effect the reformation of these things, and to injoyne the yong and all clergie to remember there is a dutie of mortification to be practized, especially on the set fasts of the Church. We giue great offence to the Church of Rome by our neglect of them.

"Reverend Sir, worthy Mr. Deane of Durham! haue but the patience to read my congratulations (homely but hartie) of your advancement to that dignitie, which I haue heard Dr. Cousin (the Rt. Rev. Bp. of Durham) say was the best preferment in England. The Lord giue you much joy in the possession, and much good speed in executing the good offices of the place to his glory and your good account. So prays your very humble servant, weak and aged (83 current).

"Begging your prayers, Reverend Sir, for him who pants for an opportunity, *vacare Deo*, in prayer and preparation for my dissolution and for all men, especially Christians, even for mee the unworthy

"BARNABAS OLEY.

"From Caxton to London. To the very Reverend
"and much honor'd Doctor Denis Grenville,
"Dean of Durham, at the Clarke of the Closets'
"Lodgings in Whitehall, humbly present these."

"The peice of advice to the young scholars in the Universities," to which Oley refers in the above letter, was a book which Granville, upon becoming Dean, published under the title of "Counsel and directions divine and moral: In plain and familiar Letters of Advice to a young Gentleman, his Nephew, soon after his Admission into a College in Oxon." It was issued as a protest against the laxity of manners and morals then prevalent at the University, and in it he strongly reflected upon the conduct of one or two notoriously profligate undergraduates; but inasmuch as they had already been punished with the utmost severity by the justices of the peace, Dr. Fell, Bishop of Oxford, wrote, deprecating the publication of the book, fearing lest it should "give occasion for much misrepresentation."

The following letters were written apparently in acknowledgment of the book the Dean had sent his friends. Sir Halswell Tynte had married Grace, the only child of his sister, Grace, the wife of Col. Robert Fortescue, of Filleigh.

"HALSWELL, y^e^ 14 of December.

"MY DEARE AND REVEREND VNCLE,—It hath been my misfortune euer since I haue had a being, (to my great concerne) to be bread soe much a stranger vnto many of my deare Mother's neerest relations, or if at any time I haue had the happyness to enioye them, my time haue been soe very short, as only to make me the more sensible of my losse; and it hath been often my lamentation that I could neuer in any of my London journeys be soe fortunat as to meet you; who tho' I haue seen but once (that I doe

remember), yet the great carecter which I haue not only heard my father giue you, but all that euer knew you, can neuer make me vnmindfull of my happyness and honour of haueing soe worthy a person as your self to my vncle; who haue shown soe much generosity as to minde soe poore and remote a person as I am, and that after the best kinde with your excellent good booke and preuelent prayers, which prayers I most heartily begg the continuence of, and shall euer remain,

"Dear Vncle,

"Your most humble seruent and
"sinceerly affectionat Neece,
"GRACE TYNTE.

"I am Sir George Wheeler
"and my Lady's humble
"seruant."

[Addressed:—] "For the Reuerend Doctor Denis
"Grenuille, Dean of Durham."

[Endorsed:—] "December 14th.
"My Lady Tynte."

"REVEREND SIR,—My wife having shewen me your kind letter it did soe much surprize me with your kindness y^{t} I knew [not] how to express my thankes, that you should mind such an inconsiderable person as *myself* in bestowing on me this rich jewell your fine book, which doth not onely shew the layatty their duty but alsoe the best of our Clergie a pattern to follow. Now (God be praysed) y^{e} Litergie of the Church is much in request, and more generally applauded then some few yeares since it was; none now

daring either to speak publiquely against it, or not to vse it in y^e^ Church, yet I can't say wee are free from conventicles, but that there are one or two non-conformists preachers still privately lurking vp and downe in every one of our corporations still, endeavouring to poyson y^e^ ignorant people, but I presume if the Justices would vnanimously joyne in puting y^e^ penall lawes in execution, and alsoe thos that haue the care of their souls, vse their diligence and care to endeavour to convince them of their errours, in short time even Tanton itself would become perfect vniformity; but our misery is the greatest subsistance in these places, for their minister doth proceed from y^e^ subscriptions of the towne, which vpon the first displeasure they will with draw, which make them vnwilling to preach or act as otherways they would.

"Sir, I fearing I haue now tired you with y^e^ relation of this country, I will humbly begg your prayers for me and mine: and y^t^ you will pardon y^e^ faults and follys of

"Sir,

"Your most humble and affectionate Servant,

"HALSWELL TYNTE.

"Pray make my humble service acceptable vnto Sir George and my Lady Wheeler."

[Addressed:—] "These:

"For the Reverend Dr. Denis
"Grenville, Deane of Durham,
"at Sir George Wheeler's hous
"in Channell Row, in West-
"minster in
"London."

[Endorsed:—] "December 14th.
"Sir Halswell Tynte."

CHAPTER XII.

DENNIS GRANVILLE was appointed Dean of Durham on the 14th of December 1684; and the Golden Stall, vacated by his accession to the higher dignity, was conferred upon Sir George Wheler, Rector of Houghton-le-Spring, who was a nephew by marriage to the new Dean, having married Grace, Daughter of Sir Thomas Higgons, Knight, by Lady Bridget Granville. He, however, had nearly lost the stall, it would appear; for "upon Greenvill's nomination [to the Deanery] Jefferies got a promise of the stall; the Earl of Bath told his brother the Dean of it, and the Dean told my lord. [the Bishop of Durham]. My lord got the Dean to resign it, while the Dean's instrument was passing the Great Seal, and my lord put in Sir George Wheler in the Prebend as soon as ever the Dean's instrument was signed. Thus the Bath family was encouraged and Jefferies was balked. Dr. South said to my lord, after Greenvill was put in "that my lord had paved his way with honour to Durham." (Life of Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, p 51).

Old Dean Sudbury had died only just in time to secure the Deanery for Dennis Granville, for Charles II. died on the 6th of February following, Lord Bath and Lord Feversham, the Captain of the Guard, being the only Officers of State present when he drew to his end, and the Duke of York secretly introduced the Roman Catholic priest, Huddlestone, into the bedroom to administer the last sacraments. And with Charles II. the Bath interest declined.

A little before the King died, so Le Neve states, he commended Lord Bath to the Duke of York, desiring him to consider him not so much a servant as a friend; but upon his accession James II. at once removed him from his office of groom of the stole, and placed the Roman Catholic Lord Peterborough in his place, and Lord Bath was no longer a *persona grata* at Court, though he remained, as long as he conscientiously could, unshaken in his loyalty to the King during the four short years of his reign.

One of the first things which Dean Granville did on his appointment was to transfer his money matters from the hands of Mr. John Basire to those of Mr. Wilson, the Registrar to the Dean and Chapter of Durham, by whose advice and good management he was enabled the first year to pay off nearly a thousand pounds of his debts, and this in spite of the heavy expenses attached to his succeeding to the Deanery, and of the fact that the first year's revenue, or at least the greater part of it, went to the late Dean's executors. But the Dean still owed between £4,000 and £5,000 more! What the arrangements were by which this was done, is not quite clear, but Lord Bath was a partner in the negociations, and everything was submitted to him for his approbation. In one of his letters to Mr. Wilson the Dean writes:—

"The dispute betwixt my Lord Peterborough and my brother, concerning the Groom of Stole's place, being not yet detirmined, nor any settlement in the Bed-chamber, he is as full as businesse as of griefe; and therefore those matters that depend upon my brother's advice must yet rest awhile."

What the cause of complaint against Mr. Basire was is not exactly stated. It was apparently some *spiritual*

offence, which the Dean had rebuked him for, and which led to the quarrel. In one of his letters the Dean writes:—

"Mr. John Basire was this day married to my Lady Stote. Some had the confidence to desire me to knit the knot (to my great wonder) which I refused."

Writing to Wilson he says:—

"I am firmly persuaded that you are neither *knave* nor *fooll*, and haue no suspition but that you can performe all that you promise. Wherefore bee not at all discouraged. I desire your assistance in all concernes relating to my revenue, and do rely on you more than any man to helpe mee out of the briars. You are assured of my kindnesse to you (and yours) and of my confidence in you; and I may (by the blessing of that Divine Power which hath hitherto owned mee, and brought mee to a station much above my merit) live to reward you for all your services. I never deserted any *confident* yet, till they manifestly abused mee, and departed first from God as well as mee; that is, acted contrary to conscience and right reason, and became, in plaine termes, ungratefull to mee. And if you do so too I will forsake you likewise. Dr. D(avies) proved so it is notorious, tho' I did allmost beggar my selfe to make his fortune. Mr. J. B(asire) proved more so in rebelling against mee and treating mee as he hath done in reference to spirituall conduct. I do not say nor believe that either of them did knowingly or designedly cheat mee, but I will say this to all the world and to their faces; that the first was intollerably greedy and not to bee allowed the liberty which I once gave him of being his own carver. And the other is so intollerably proud and sturdy to mee, when I endeavoured to correct his manners, and wholy incapable

of restoration to my favour. You I beleive (are) nether of these, and do therefore thinke Providence very kind to mee in providing an agent for mee, in my present distresse, so honest and able, as well as gratefull to my selfe and all wise men in the country. You are above the censure of others. Despise them. And I, thanke God, and a gracious Master etc. out of the reach of my enimies, so as (not) to be much hurt by those who malign mee or my agents. I shall make such use of you as to demonstrat that I am not afraid of people's prating that I am governed by *Deane Wilson*. And stick, I pray, so close to my intrest and honour, with both which I do intrust you, as not to bee dismayed by any invidious body who shall say that you cheat mee or overreach mee. Wee must bee, (as I trust wee both are) better philosophers than so, or I shall not be with speed out of my troubles."

The following Paper, entitled "Occasional Thoughts Spirituall," appears to contain quotations from Dr. Granville's sermons preached in Ely Chapel, at this period.

"Whitehall, *Jan. 24th*, $168\frac{4}{5}$.

"Ely Chappell, *Jan. 25th* (Sunday).

"OCCASIONALL THOUGHTS.

"*Spirituall.*

"1. As many small pieces of money added together make a great summ, so exactnesse in y^e^ observance of many small matter do's make a great alteracion in a man's outward carriage and deportment; nay, being accompanyed with serious consideracion and foresight, adds chearfull-

nesse to his countenance and clearnesse to his judgment, a person so accomplished being not only aforehand with y^e^ accounts of his soule, but his worldly affairs, gives right judgment in matters of doubt and difficulty, and has a foresight of what he ought to do and what to avoid. By y^e^ constant practice of this, he getts such a habit of exactnesse y^t^ is as hard for him to do a thing irregularly and [*sic*] for an irregular man to doe it regularly. D. G. Godly sayings § 6.

"2. No person ought to turne his back upon a sacrament, upon any spirituall impediment, unlesse it be for such sins for which y^e^ church (if it knew) would not only deny y^e^ same to him, but inflict its censures upon him, insomuch y^t^ he is in a private sense excommunicate,[1] nor ought he to approach thither till he has obtained his absolucion, if not upon sincere confession of his sin to a priest, yet by a hearty repentance and confession of y^e^ same at least to God Almighty.

"4. If a person committing such sins as do really in y^e^ sight of God unfit him for y^e^ reception of y^e^ Holy Communion, as before mencioned, and taking either of y^e^ said methods for y^e^ obtaineing his absolucion, do relapse againe into y^e^ same sins (after absolucion obteined for his former), is to be looked upon as a sinner in a higher degree, namely, a perjured person, for so y^e^ church does reckon a man y^t^ has made himselfe lyable to a 2d excommunicacion and do's proceed against him accordingly.

"5. He that has got an habit of devotion may receive y^e^ Holy Sacrament with safety, tho' he have not an hour's warning to prepare himselfe. For a man thus qualifyed with *habituall devotion* (take this for a maxim) never neglects y^e^ *Actuall* when he has opportunity.

[1] "3" is written against this clause and struck out.

è contrà.

" 6. He that finds himself deficient in this particular, namely, making right use of all occasions offerred him for *actuall devotion,* may conclude he has not arrived to y^t^ pitch abovemencioned.

" 7. Which to obteine is constantly to practice y^e^ *actuall* vertue till it become habituall, and y^t^ habituall *delightfull.*

" 8. It is not much businesse that distracts a man, but y^e^ want of purity and constancy and tendency towards God.

" 9. He y^t^ hath not wholly subdued himself is quickly tempted and overcome in small and trifling things.

" 10. It is easyer, safer and more pleasant, to live in obedience yn at our owne disposing.

" 11. Devout discourses do greatly further our spirituall progresse.

" 12. Think not all is well within when all is well without.

" 13. Do no evill for no interest and to please no man, for no friendship and for no fear.

" 14. Begin every day to repent. Begin the next day with the same zeale, y^e^ same fear, and the same humility, as if y^u^ hadst never begun before.

" 15. A little omission of any usuall act of piety cannot happen to y^ee^ without some losse and considerable detriment, even tho' it be upon a considerable cause.

" 16. Be not troubled nor faint in y^e^ labours of mortificacion and austerityes of repentance.

" 17. In thy prayers wait for God and think not every hearty prayer can procure every thing y^u^ askest.

" 18. If y^u^ meanest to be devout and inlarge thy religion, do it rather by increasing thy ordinary y^n^ extraordinary devotions.

" 19. Use violence to your appetite, and in all things endeavour to subdue y^e^ flesh to y^e^ spirit.

" 20. Do not omit thy prayers for want of a good oratory.

" 21. There is no joy but in God, and no sorrow but in an evill conscience.

" 21 [*sic.*]. No man can have alwaies y^e^ same spirituall pleasure in his prayers.

" 22. He y^t^ prayes dispairs not, but sad is the condicion of him y^t^ cannot pray.

" 23. He is at peace who is reconciled to God, and God loves him when he hath overcome himselfe.

" 24. Blesse me with peace of conscience, comand of my affections, y^e^ love of my dearest friends, and I shall be happy enough to pitty Cæsar.

" 25. He that has lately been guilty of one wilfull sin cannot be sure that his repentance is accepted by God.

" 26. Vertuous habits in y^e^ soule are to be discovered certainly only by y^e^ acts they produce.

" 27. Who cannot tell if he has been guilty of any crime through violence of passion or wilfull sins, whether they have driven him into a severe repentance, whether he hath avoided y^e^ like dangerous sins, and whether he has lived righteously, soberly ,and godly, not till y^n^ can he have any assurance that his repentance is sincere.

" Whitehall, *Jan.* 24, $168\frac{4}{5}$.

" Godly Sayings of D. G.

" 1. Serve God and then I'm sure you'll serve me faithfully.

" 2. To set your head right is 1st to set your heart

right, and y^n^ you'll easily set your hand right and every thing right.

" 3. If you do not grow better by frequent sacraments, you'll certainly grow worse; for every time you receive unworthily, you receive poison into your soule which will certainly breake out one time or other.

"4. Do not think your selves good men because possibly you are better than others, but go on in y^e^ practice of vertue, for non progredi est regredi.

" 5. Tho' God does forgive a man y^e^ guilt of sin upon true repentance, yet he does not remit alwaies y^e^ punishment of it in this world, as in y^e^ case of David with Bathsheba. Saith y^e^ profit, The Lord hath done away thy sin, howbeit, because thou hast given great occasion to y^e^ enemies of y^e^ Lord to blaspheme, the child also y^t^ is borne unto thee shall surely die.

" 6. To exercise one's reason in every thing one has to do, even in small matters, whereby one may get such a habit of exactnesse that they will seldome faile in matters of greater moment.

" 7. In a matter of doubt to keep alwaies on God's side.

" 8. Let not your souls ffester or rankle, for y^e^ longer you dealay your repentance y^e^ harder it will be, and you'll be lesse inclined to it to morrow y^n^ to day.

" 9. Make religion y^e^ chiefe businesse of your lifes.

" 10. If you resolve to set about religion in *hearty good earnest*, you must *go God's way* in y^e^ practice of it.

" 11. Do not dissemble with God Almighty, for your conscience will fly in your face one time or other, and y^n^ God knows what will be y^e^ effects of it. *A wounded conscience who can bear?*

" 12. He y^t^ thinketh he standeth, let him take heed lest he fall.

" 13. They that live with him must either be good men or very wicked ones, being kept up to a constant practice of religion.

" 14. Denying one's selfe of meat and drink is y^e^ least part of mortificacion.

" 15. If you cannot do a lesse, assure your selves you cannot do a greater.

" 16. Beware of carnal reasonings.

" 17. Love of compassion and love of complacency.

" J. B."

Apparently his Court duties required his detention in London for some months after his appointment to the Deanery, but he was not neglecting his diocesan duties, and it was probably at his instigation that the following letter was addressed by the Bishop of Durham to the Dean and Chapter.

" This comes not so much by way of Injunction as of advice, to you Mr. Dean and the Prebendaryes of Durham, that you would consult the Rubrick in the Communion Service concerning the weekly receiving the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Cathedral Churches; which laudable and statutable practice according to the Liturgy (though too much disused in many places) is now revived in severall Cathedralls; the neglect of which I think not justifiable, especially when there is a convenient number of Communicants which can never be wanting, if you and the Prebendaryes would contrive so to serve your Parish Churches as by turnes to attend this most holy duty in the Cathedrall. I am sure your own inclinations to this devo-

tion are such as might save me the labour of enforcing what the Law requires; and, however, I commend this matter to your care, and shall expect that after next Easter the Holy Communion be duly administered every Sunday in the Cathedrall; and I question not but you will find by this a great encrease of piety, which will be not only an advantage to the receivers but also a satisfaction to those who attend God's altar in this sacred administration. You haue the prayers and blessing of

"Your very affectionate Diocesan,

"N. DURESME.

"April 7, 1685.

"Covent Garden."

Thus at last Granville obtained what had been his heart's desire for several years. Yet he was not permitted to enjoy this victory without feeling the spite and malice of his opponents in the Chapter. His "boisterous brother," Dr. Cartwright, Dean of Ripon, still continued to oppose him in the Chapter and by letters:—

"Give my service to all my brethren," (writes the Dean) "and let Mr. Sub-dean in particular know that I did receive another very long epistle from Dr. Cartwright by last post, whereto I shall returne as curt and resolute an answer as I did to the former."

And again:—

"I haue received another very long letter from the Deane of Rippon, since you went, to the old tune; whereto I shall returne no other answer than I haue to his former ones."

But one of his opponents managed to intercept some of his private letters to Dr. Basire, which contained "unwary" expressions, reflecting somewhat on the Bishop of Durham, the Archbishop of York, and some other Bishops for their neglect in enforcing the Bidding Prayer in the place of Pulpit Prayers. The letters were opened, read, and sent to the Bishop in the hope of causing a breach between him and the Dean. Granville, therefore, invokes the aid of Archbishop Sancroft as an intermediary, enclosing a protestation of his sincerity in the matter.

DEAN GRANVILLE TO ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,—Though I am well perswaded my lord of Durham is so wise and good a man that whatever use he makes of the treason (pretended to be discovered in my late intercepted letter) he will not faile at least to hang the traitour, yet I am so jealous of misrepresentations to my lord the Archbishop of York and some other Bishops, (which were meant though not named in my letter) that I have ventured on so great an act of presumption as to inclose herein a protestation of my innocency, humbly beseeching your Grace consideringly to read it, and if you haue any opinion of my veracity (whereof, whatever have been my failings, I haue giue the world, I hope, little reason to doubt) that you would be pleased to protect and support me, if there be occasion, against the mallice of these ill men, who do very industriously, I perceive, follow their blow, in wounding my reputation with my lord of Durham, to make if possible a breach betwixt us; which, however, I trust in God he will prevent.

"If I haue spoken treason against my Diocesan or

against other prelates of our Church, (though, if I may be suffered to be a commentator upon mine owne letter, it will beare a favourable construction) I dare affirme of myselfe, as Prince Rupert used to do of the old discontented cavaliers, that it hath been *out of the loyalty of my heart.*

"Not knowing of a better expedient to discharge my owne conscience and defeat my enemies' spleen, than to deposite the inclosed protestation and confession with your Grace at this the most solemne time for the celebration of the Holy Communion; and hoping that your Grace, if you hear me unjustly censured, will speak a kind word for me hereafter, and at present not deny me (for any rashnesse or imprudence that I may haue been guilty of, in this or any other act of my well-meant zeale) your absolution, more than your benediction, in this present tryall (which is no small one) I rest, with all imaginable humility sincerity and respect (my lord)

"Your Grace's most obedient son and faithfull servant,

"DENIS GRENVILLE.

"Easter Eve, 1685."

"Postscript. If my late zeale against pulpit prayers (whereto I haue been an enemy throughout my whole life) hath been any waies extravagant, Dr. Stuart's little piece hath been the chiefe occasion thereof, and therefore I haue presumed herewith to enclose it, though probably your Grace has long since perused it.

"To the Most Reverend Father in God, his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, humbly present these.

A hearty protestation of my sincerity and integrity in reference to my letters, intercepted and maliciously sent up to the Bishop of Durham.

"As I do hope for mercy at the day of judgment, and comfort from the Holy Sacrament of my Saviour's Blessed Body and Blood, at this high and solemne festivall of our Lord's Resurrection, I do solemnly protest, in the presence of God and His holy angels, that I did not designe any dishonour or uneasinesse to my lord the Bishop of Durham, nor any countenance or support of Dr. Basire against our Diocesan, (whose practice was for us in this point of Bidding Prayer) but to oppose an irregular and dangerous practice of the Viccar of Newcastle, whose unpardonable stiffnesse (in disputing this clear duty with the Archdeacon's Officiall, in opposition and contempt of, not only the example of his Diocesan, the Deane and Prebendaries, and the whole clergy of the Bishoprick of Durham, but of the greater, elder and wiser part of his owne brethren of Newcastle) was like to be of mischievous consequence to the neighbouring clergy of my Jurisdiction. And that by the private letter written to Dr. Basire, and intercepted, (wherein I confesse were some unwary expressions not fit for my lord Bishop's eye) I did not intend to expose my lord for ignorance in his rubrick, meaning by that expression '*that his lordship would in a short while become a good rubrick man*' no more but this:—that his lordship by Sir George Wheler's manuscript upon the rubricks, and Dr. Beveridge's about Bidding of Prayer, (both which are still in his lordship's custody) would receiue so much satisfaction as to be of our mind, and giue no countenance to the Viccar of Newcastle. Much lesse did I make bold and insolent reflections on the prelates of the Church of

England etc. as pretended in a false and spurious coppy sent up to the Bishop, wickedly and mischievously descanted on, to a very evill intent; and, if possible, to make a breach betwixt the Bishop and myselfe, which I do as much dread as the phanatick and semi-conformists do our union. I mentioning the practice of one Archbishop, severall Bishops, and one of the Universities, in using a pulpit prayer, to caution the Officiall to be prudent in his zeal to rectifie this breach of canon, rather than to vilifie and expose them. As for any infirmities and imprudences in this transaction, I beg God's, my lord's, and particularly your Grace's absolution, but do in the most solemne manner protest that I had no evill and unchristian aime in this intreague. And according to the integrity of that, and this paper, help me God.

"DENIS GRENVILLE.

"East Eve, '85."

The Rev. J. Smith, who was chaplain to Lord Lansdowne (the Dean's nephew) at Madrid, writes to the Dean as follows:—

"I am sorry Sir to hear you are yet upon trialls of skill in your Cathedrall affairs, but I hope your usual dexterity and application will gain you entire victory. I am sure the publick good, from which, without flattery, I never yet knew you separated, requires you should always gain it, and all whom you outdo do themselves reap the benefit of being subdued."

His enemies failed in their object of causing a quarrel between the Bishop and Dean, as will be seen by the

following letter written after Granville's installation, which must have been deferred till the autumn.

FROM DEAN GRANVILLE TO ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,—Having taken possession of my worthy predecessor's stall in the Quire, and chair in the Chapter-house, I think my selfe obliged not only to addresse my selfe unto your Grace for a fresh benediction, but to present you with a re-assurance of my services and dutifull respects, as well as those of the Body which I am now by Providence (though I know most unworthy) set to preside over. As you, my lord, haue alwaies showne a particular kindnesse to the Church of Durham, so do I find therein a particular honour for your Grace, which, as long as I relate to this Church, shall be my constant endeavour to preserue.

"My lord, I do earnestly beseech you, that you will pray for me. Though my reception both by the Bishop, Prebends, and Clergy and Gentry in the country, has been kind beyond my deserving; and my predecessor's chairs, through the civilities and respects of all persons, are made to me yet very easy, I am not ignorant of the weight of duties and difficulties that must necessarily attend my promotion. I do therefore, out of a deep sense of my weaknesse and unworthinesse, fly to Almighty God, who hath euer graciously watched over me, carryed me through a multitude of difficulties, and at last raised me, by his Providence, to this high and honourable station, which makes me (as well as an object of envy to many) to some an object of Christian pity and charity, so as to afford me

a title, I hope, to their devotions; among which number I please my selfe to think that your Grace may be one.

"I can say no more for my selfe at this my last promotion than I could at my first entrance into the Church, namely that I do not now more than ever discover in my heart any evill designe on the Church, nor any alteration in that honest zeale that brought me very early into it, to giue my selfe wholly up to its service, and to imploy all that I haue received, by the goodnesse of a gracious Master, to God's honour and the advantage of our established religion.

"The evill designe of some malicious men, in endeavouring to make a breach betwixt the Bishop and my selfe, by treacherously intercepting my letters, hath had a contrary effect; my lord having, after a thorough inquisition, and view of the worst of me, discovered me to be no other than an honest man and his lordship's humble servant. Whereto I haue great obligations having received extraordinary expressions of favour from my lord since my arrivall, as well as mighty satisfaction in his Visitation; which his lordship has mannaged hugely to his honour and the edification of us all.

"Among many other excellent things my lord of Durham hath strictly injoined us to continue the celebration of the Weekly Communion, with jubilation, (fallen into disuse since the death of Bishop Cosins) and to restore sermons on Wednesdaies and Fridayes in Lent and Advent according to the present practice of York, and ancient practice of this Cathedrall, and probably of all Cathedrall and Collegiate Churches.

"These worthy acts of my lord do afford me great joy, and will be, I hope, very exemplary to other Churches. Assuring your Grace that I shall not be backward to concurre with his lordship to promote such undenyable good

works, I once more beg your Grace's benediction, and rest (my lord)

"Your Grace's most obedient son and humble servant,

"DENIS GRANVILLE.[1]

"Durham, Oct. 17th, 1685.

"My wife importunes mee to insert her humble desires of your Grace's benediction."

There seems very little doubt that the revival of sermons in Advent and Lent, referred to in the above letter, was enjoined by the Bishop of Durham at the instigation of the Dean, who himself preached the opening sermon on the 2nd of December, 1685, being the first Wednesday in Advent in that year. The sermon was afterwards published, with an Epistle Dedicatory to the Bishop prefixed to it, in which the Dean says, "the Magistrates and People of best Quality in this City, do by their presence intimate how much they are gratified that their Cathedral

[1] It will be noticed that the Dean began about this time to alter the spelling of his surname. He, his father, and grandfather had usually spelt it Grenvile, or Grenville; but before that time the name had been spelt phonetically in a variety of ways, viz., Greenvil, Greynfield, Greynfyld, Graynfyld, Grauntvild, Grenefeld, Grenfield, Greenfield, Grinvel, etc. But when Charles II. granted an Earldom to Sir John Grenvile, (as he had hitherto spelt his name) the spelling of the old Norman town, which his ancestors had held as one of their seigneuries, was adopted, and he was created "Baron Granville of Kilkhampton and Bideford, Viscount Granville of Lansdowne, and Earl of Bath." Lord Bath's next brother, Bernard, at once adopted this spelling, but for some reason or other Dennis did not do so till after he became Dean of Durham. This mode of spelling the name has continued in this branch of the family ever since.

should first restore this religious course, which was in use here in the memory of some of our Body, and has been at York ever since the return of the Monarchy, and we haue reason to believe has been observed in most, if not all, Cathedrals before the great Rebellion.

The gratification of the Mayor and Corporation, however, was not lasting, and the following year the Dean found it necessary to write to them and rebuke them for their non-attendance at these special services.

FROM DEAN GRANVILLE TO THE MAYOR OF DURHAM.

"*Munday at Noon.*

"MR. MAJOR,—Since the exemplary diligence of your honest predecessor and the Corporation, during the first Advent after the establishment of our new course of Sermons, gave me the occasion to set foorth their praise in print, I been the more concerned that I could not extoll the practice of the Major and Aldermen this year as I did the last, but imputing your absence from Church on Wensdayes and Fridayes last Advent to some extraordinary necessary buisness, I am incouraged to hope that wee shall enjoy this Lent the presence of you and your Brethren, or at least a representative of your Body, at our service and sermons on those dayes, which will bee not only pleasing to my Lord of Durham (who injoyned mee to bee very diligent in keeping up this antient and excellent order) and my selfe and Chapter in particular, but much to the edification of the whole Citty. Desiring that when wee cannot enjoy your personall presence, that some (at least one) of your families may appeare for you in the House of God,

where our circumstances require an exact performance of our respective duties to God and the King.

"I rest, Sir,

"Your very affectionate and humble servant,

"DENIS GRANVILLE."

Having won the victory of the Weekly Communion, the Dean next endeavoured to furnish the altar of the Cathedral suitably; and there is a document extant, which is a receipt from him to the Mayor of Durham for Altar Plate lent to the Cathedral by order of the Bishop of Durham. It is somewhat curious as showing what were then regarded as necessary appendages, and it will be noted that Candlesticks are included.

"I, Dennis Granvill, Doctor of Divinity, and Deane of Durham, doe acknowledge myselfe to haue received the day of the date hereof (by order and appointment of the Right Honorable and Right Reverend Father in God, Nathaniel, Lord Bishopp of Durham) from Robert Delavale Esq., Major of the City of Durham, these pieces of gilt Altar Plate, viz. One basan, twoe candle-sticks, twoe flagons, twoe chalices, and twoe pattens; which said pieces of plate, I the said Dennis Granville haue received as aforesaid, upon loan onely, for the use of the Cathedral Church of Durham, for and untill such time as the Altar Plate belonging to the said Cathedral Church of Durham be changed. And I doe hereby promiss to rediliver to the said Robert Delavale, or to such other person or persons as the said Right Honorable and Right Reverend Father in God shall appoint or direct, all the said pieces of plate, upon demand, safe, whole, and in as good a condition as when I received them. Witness etc."

Dean Granville also issued at this time the following "Directions for Mr. Sub-deane and the Prebendaries of Durham."

"1. That the whole service for the Quire be performed with all due decency and reverence according to the plaine and clear rules of the Common Prayer Book and Canons of the Church.

"2. That since somethings that are clear enough are sometimes judged otherwise, if any of the Prebends do differ about the sense of the Rubrick there shall be no further alteration than what is already made, without the consent and approbation of my Lord the Bishop of the Diocese and the Deane.

"3. That there may be no innovation in point of ceremony and externall reverence in any manner that is not commanded or hath been already practised till the meeting of a Grand Chapter and some mutuall conference about the same, and my Lord Bishop and the Deane consulted about the matter.

"4. That all kinds of hot disputes and altercations about indifferent things, especially in publick, be as much as possible avoided; contention, animositys, and jarring among the brethren being now more than ever unseasonable.

"5. That after mild and Christian reasoning together about such matters as concerne their ministrations, which is very laudable, the whole Body go as much as possible one way, and in small matters, relating only to the manner of the performance, following the practice of the Bishop, Deane, and major part of the Body."

We have already seen in Granville's letter to his nephew (p. 264), on the subject of taking Hoy Orders, how impor-

tant he considered it that candidates should have the benefit of a theological training after leaving College; we have also an interesting testimony to his desire of furthering the growth of learning among the younger clergy of the diocese in a letter from Sir George Wheler to the Rev. Hamond Beaumont, who had been Granville's curate at Sedgefield, written after the Dean's death. After alluding to "the pious and devout temper" which distinguished the Dean when an undergraduate at Oxford, as testified by Bishop Crewe, and to his zeal in the restoration of the Weekly Sacrament in the Cathedral of Durham, he goes on to speak of "his purpose to make the Cathedral the great seminary of young Divines for the Diocese; and to this end, to invite ingenuous young men to be Minor-Canons, he got this order past in Chapter that what preferment the Chapter had to dispose of, the Minor-Canons, according to their seniority, meritts, and deserts, should haue the option before any other; and to further them in their studies, did intend them the use of the College library; and that they might continue a regular and collegiate life, had often thoughts of getting them lodgings erected in the Colledge, and in one of his letters the Dean writes—"Wee haue establish't a rule in the disposal of our livings. First, to provide for the members of our Body; 2ndly, the Dean and Prebends' Curates; 3rdly, the Viccars of our own Jurisdiction; and I wish all persons did know this our resolution that they might not put in for our livings which are too few and too mean to accomodate those that doe depend on us." In connection with this it may be observed that the Dean's Curates, at any rate, appear to have received from him somewhat of a domestic and personal training. They formed part of his household, often acting as his amanuenses, and no doubt received

directions from him as to the prosecution of their studies.

To this attempt to found a Theological College at Durham must be added a Clerical Club, which Granville had formed before he was made Dean, and which met once a month to discuss liturgical questions. There is a very interesting Schedule of Questions bearing upon the rubrics of the various Offices in the Prayer Book, which were submitted to the Club, with the answers to most of them written in pencil. The following is the scheme:—

"A Proposall concerning a monethly meeting of some "sober Clergy and Civilians to conferre about "matters of discipline, and more especially about the "orders and rules of the Common Prayer-Book, "according to the practice of Dr. Samwaies and Dr. "Comber and other Clergy in Yorkshire, with some "Rules and Orders concerning the same.

"The Names of the Persons.

"Mr. Deane of Carlile; The Archdeacon of Durham; Mr. Marsh; Mr. Roddome; Dr. Bagshaw; Mr. Cock; Mr. Sowersley, Rector of Ryton; Mr. Thomas Davison, Vicar of Norton; Mr. Charles Basire, Rector of Bowdon; Mr. Beaumont, Rector of Elwick; Officiall to the Archdeacon of Northumberland; Surrogate to the Archdeacon of Durham. An ingenious and sober man to be chosen for a Scribe, either clergyman or layman, and if relating to the Ecclesiastick Courts the better.

"Rules and Orders to be observed.

"1. That Durham shall bee the place of our Meeting.

"2. That the day shall bee the first Thursday in every moneth.

"3. That all the persons living in the country shall

be timely enough in Durham to bee present in the Cathedrall at the beginning of Morning Prayer, under a penalty of forfeiting a half crowne to the poor.

"4. That all the persons shall repaire immediately after service to the place of dining.

"5. That dinner shall be ready precisely by eleven of the clock.

"6. That the dinner shall bee alwaies a very frugall and sparing one, and alwaies finished by twelve of the clock, without any kind of tipling, or appearance of pipe or pot, otherwise than a grace-cup once round.

"7. That each person shall entertaine the rest in his respective turne according to the order of the paper.

"8. That those who haue not got houses in Durham shall provide a dinner at some private house of good reputacion, but never at a taverne or alehouse.

"9. That the 1st meeting shall be onely to agree on a Schedule of Questions to bee considered and discoursed on in their order.

"10. That at every meeting there shall bee a question propounded against next meeting, which every one shall study and bring his thoughts in writing.

"11. That the first thing after dinner when wee fall to businesse, shall bee the producing of our papers or collections, and the reading of them in order.

"12. That the Paper shall be read by the Scribe or Amanuensis.

"13. That nobody shall interrupt the reading thereof or interpose any discourse till all the papers are read, unlesse it bee some short occasionall reflection thereon.

"14. After the reading of them they shall proceede to consider the subject matter of them, and each one speake his thoughts in order; examining the papers in such order

as they were read; proceeding in the conference (considering one paper after another) till Evening Prayer in the Cathedrall, to which all persons are obliged to bee present, under the penalty (as formerly) of half crowne to the poor.

" 15. That Mr. Deane of Carlisle shall be Moderatour, and haue power [*a blank is left here, probably intended to be filled up by some sentence limiting and defining his power.*—Ed.].

" 16. That noe man shall presume to interupt another speaking, or use any hott or provokefull language, but avoide all manner of wrangling or disputing, suffering every man freely to speake his owne sense.

" 17. That all the papers which shall bee brought at each time, shall at the end of the Conference be reserved by the Amanuensis, who is to giue any one of the Society the perusall of them, or a copy of any paper that they shall desire.

" 18. That the Amanuensis shall shew no papers to any person whatsoever, nor communicate any transactions, without the consent of the Society, under pain of the losse of his imployment.

" 19. That the Amanuensis shall receive a Newyeare's gift every Newyeare's day of a half crowne at least, to buy him a book or gloves, and from the Moderatour, every Archdeacon and Dr. of Divinity, five shillings.

" 20. That if any Member of this Society shall speake jeeringly of the Meeting, or of any particular person, when it shall bee made appeare, his name shall bee struck out of the list, and excluded from this Meeting.

" 21. That whosever shall not appeare at the appointed day shall forfeit half-a-crown, one half whereof shall bee due to the poor, and the other half to the Amanuensis.

"22. That during the winter season, while the Evening Prayers in the Cathedrall are at three of the clock, and that the space between dinner and service is but short; all those who remaine in Durham that might shall haue some further conference together after Prayers, in the Archdeacon of Durham's house in the Colledge, where all such persons as are disposed shall sup. Which supper, not onely during the winter but throughout the whole yeare, the Archdeacon is willing to impose upon himself as deserving a greater burthen than other men, for being the first occasionour and promoter of this meeting.

"23. That every one shall be obliged to read over his Common Prayer-book, once in the yeare at least and marke downe in paper whatsoever objections arise in his mind in reading, and other things worthy of consideration and discourse; and expose these papers to the public view of the Assembly, which will prove very helpfull in the study of the Liturgy; the maine end of this Meeting."

Much of the miscellaneous correspondence at this period relates to arrangements which were made for the gradual liquidation of his incumbrances out of the revenues of the Deanery. His expenses on the score of hospitality must have been heavy. The following "Method of my Residence, 1687," gives some idea of what it must have been, and is quaint reading:—

"Saturday, Oct. 1st. Church and Bishop's Beadsmen and other poor at the long table in the hall [*7 dishes at first course and 3 at second*].

"Sunday 2nd. Prebendaryes and some gentlemen at 3 Spanish tables in the dining-roome [*10 dishes at first course and 8 at second*].

"Monday 3rd. Petty Canons and their wives at the long table in the hall [*7 dishes at first course and 3 at second*].

"Tuesday 4th. Some gentlemen at the great ovall in the parlour [*8 dishes first course and 5 the second*].

"Wednesday 5th. The Singing-men and their wives. Cornetts and others at the long table in the hall [*6 dishes first course and 4 the second*].

"Thursday 6th. Justices of Peace at 3 Spanish tables in the dining-roome [*The same number as on Sunday*].

"Friday 7th. Great ovall in the parlour after evening-prayer [*5 dishes at 1st course and 4 at second and to go to the cooke's table*].

"2nd Week. Saturday 8th. Bell-ringers and other Officers with Beadsmen of the Church at the long table in the hall [*Dishes as before on Wensday*].

"Sunday 9th. Gentry at three tables in the dining rooms [*As before on Sunday*].

"Monday 10th. Ecclesiastic Officers and Attorneys at the long table in the hall [*As before*].

"Tuesday 11th. Country Gentry at 3 Spanish tables in the dining-roome [*As before*].

"Wednesday 12th. Tradesmen at the long table in the hall [*As before*].

"Thursday 13th. Kindred at the long table in the hall [*As before*].

"Friday 14th. The great ovall in the parlour after Evening Prayer.

"3rd Week. Saturday 15th. Poor widdows and neighbours at the long table in the hall [*As before*].

"Sunday 16th. Kindred in the dining-roome [*As before*].

"Monday 17th. Citizens in the Towne, especially

tenants in Elvet, at the long table in the hall [*As before*].

"Tuesday 18, Lukes Day. Shopkeepers and workmen at the long table in the hall [*As before*].

"Wednesday 19th. Citizens, especially such as are near St. Nicholas at the long table in the hall [*As before*].

"Thursday 20th. Master and King's scholars and Organist and Quiristers [*As before*].

"Friday 21st. The great ovall in the parlour after Evening Prayer [*As before*]."

This great hospitality, repeated whenever the Dean was in residence, together with the expensive way of living, which was obligatory according to the statutes, must have sorely taxed his resources, already greatly reduced by the steps taken by Mr. Wilson to liquidate his outstanding debts. It is not surprising, therefore, to find him drawing up:—

"RESOLUTIONS AND RULES IN REFERENCE TO THE "MANAGEMENT OF MY TEMPORAL CONCERNES.

"*Oct.* 1686.

"1st. To transact all my temporall affaires of moment (and such matters as I do not desire to doe in my own person alone) by the advice of my most understanding friendes.

"2ndly. To call together as many as I shall judge meet of those in the towne [at least once a week] to conferre about matters and give me such assistance as shall be necessary.

"3rdly. That the number and qualification of the persons shall depend on my own choice and liking.

"4ly. That my brother Granville and his son (when in the country), Mr. Craddock, Mr. Beaumont, Mr. Spearman and Mr. Wilson, shall be the principal persons (if they are willing thus to assist me) with whom I shall consult, as long as I perceive they give me good and faithful advice.

"5ly. That such persons as make applications to me about matters which are suitable to my own genius, be reffered to the next meeting and their businesse be propounded in the presence of my freinds.

"6thly. That all those persons whose advice I make use of thus in publick, *refrain from private advice that they will not owne*, and haue canvass'd in publick.

"7thly. That every one forbear as much as is possible (when there is no necessity) to *offer me any private councel* (unlesse I call for it) I being more willing to receive the opinion of my freinds when it hath past the test of other wise men, haueing sorely smarted by the contrary extream [Dr. Davies, Sir W. Blakiston]. From which two former directions I would haue others take their measures.

"8thly. That they would order their businesse so, as much as they can, (with the conveniency of their own necessary affairs) to be at leisure on Friday nights, allowing me one hour's time at least, if I send for them to assist me in such businesse as I shall recommend unto them.[1]

"9thly. That these my freinds and advisers, who by such a course must become privy to my temporal designes and methods, would inform their acquaintance (gentry and others) how to make their necessary applications to me, in a regular and easy manner, suitable to a person in my circumstances and of my natural disposition [*Mem.*, the

[1] *Mem.*, that Friday night after supper be the time for the examination of the weekly accounts of the house.

principal times allotted for businesse are betwixt Morning and Evening Prayer].

"10ly. That they would all be such true freinds to me as heartily to *pray for* as well as *advise* me, and giue me so desirable a testimony of their love and freindship as to joyn with me (as frequently as they can) in the publick devotions of the Cathedral, especially at the Altar, receiving the Holy Sacrament there (and taking care that their domesticks do so to, by turns, likewise) at least once a moneth.

"11ly. That every one of them who shall be here in Durham on New year's day (over and above their other receptions of the Holy Sacrament, whether monethly or on the great Feasts and general Communion dayes) would not fail to communicate with me that day, and say *Amen*, to the hearty commendacion of myself to God (with them and theirs) together with all our joint or several designes for the year following. And that they would doe the like on Holy Thursday.

"12ly. That they would be pleased to dine with me on both above said daies, and accept of on the first day of the year a pair of gloves for each of their wives, and a book, during my *humiliation*, which may be in due time, by God's blessing, their good advice, and faithful assistance of me, improved, if they liue to see my *exaltacion*; I mean my delivery out of my present indebted and perplexed condition.

"13. That when any of the aforesaid freinds come at any time to the Deanery, they would freely (unlesse when the Prebends are with me) walk into the parlour without an introducer, and rest themselves there till the person attending in the hall gives me advertisement in the study. It being my desire that none but my brethren the Prebends

would advance farther and come into the dining room, unlesse I send for them.

"[*Mem.* to account with Mr. Craddock and Mr. W. quarterly; at Xtmas, Easter, Midsummer and Michaelmas, and give discharges]."

The following memoranda give us a graphic picture of the relations, as they were understood at this period, between a Rector and his Curates, the duties which were expected of the latter, and the stipend which they received.

"November the 3d. '87. Detirmination concerning
"Mr. Hope upon his entring on my cure of
"Easington.

"1st. That his sallery shall be 50^{li} per annum, and paid him quarterly, commencing at Michaelmas last past, he accounting for the surplice fees.

"2dly. That he (if he remaines a single man) shall haue his lodging in the house, and his diet, wheneoever I or my wife remain there, but at other times he is to provide for himself.

"3dly. That I will give him the running of a horse in my ground, if he desires to keep one, but shall not allow him nor any Curate for the future the command of my stable, as I did Dr. Davis, or of any horse, without leave from me or my steward, but am willing, if he shall have necessity for a horse, and desire one, that he should be accommodated sometimes for some small journeys here in the Bishoprick, provided I can at those times conveniently spare one.

"4ly. That when he hath just necessity to come into Durham, with my approbation, he shall be welcome to lodge

in my house, whensoever I happen to haue a bed to spare, which will not be often, by reason I haue taken Mr. Owen for the present into Mr. Smith's chamber. But this privilege of lodging sometimes in the Deanry shall not be a president for other curates to expect it, having very seldom allow'd it to any; and only to those as did me some extraordinary service at such times when I could not dispense with their attendance.

"5ly. That he procures as soon as he can a lycense from the Bishop to serve the cure, that neither of us shall be free of one another without a year's warning, unlesse it be by mutual consent."

"Nov. 3d, '87. Detirminacion concerning Mr. Marshal
"upon his coming to Easington to assist me and my
"curate, by way of probacion; as Mr. Robertson
"did, Mr. Beaumont and Mr. Hope and Mr. Lisle.

"1st. That Mr. Martial's sallery, during his time of probacion, be 30li per annum, without other conveniences or expectations, which is ten pound sallery (in consideration of Mr. Marshal's being a preist) more than I gave Mr. Hope. The other conveniences which Mr. Hope has enjcyed being upon another account, and in lew of his assistance of me as an amanuensis.

"2dly. That tho' I can by no meanes afford him the conveniency of lodging in my house, yet he shall be welcome to eat with me when I myself am at Easington with my family, every day during my stay.

"3dly. Forasmuch as a Probationer depends upon the will of the person that does employ him, so as to be disposed of in case he shall not give content, I doe allow him the liberty, and advise him to seek after any employment, which

he can honestly and modestly procure; and upon his procuring any such place, and notice thereof given to me, I shall at any time, upon a week's warning, not only release him, but assist him, as farre as he shall merit from me by his modest, sober, conformable and discreet behaviour.

"4thly. That he shall haue the liberty, in my absence, of retirement (if he desires it) into some of the roomes of the Parsonage-house, for reading, writing, or devotion, or any other scholar-like exercise or designe; for which I conceiue the Chappel or (the middle) chamber next to it, the most convenient, as also the liberty of walking in the garden if he desires it.

"WILL MARSHALL."

KING JAMES II.

CHAPTER XIII.

In March 1688 King James II. was on the eve of issuing his second Declaration of Indulgence, that fatal measure which proved how wrongly he had estimated his own strength and his subjects' submission and patience. In the midst of much censure the Dean of Durham had nevertheless prepared himself to follow out the principles he had always professed and taught, namely, an implicit obedience to the commands of his Sovereign. The following letter addressed to a Mr. Lumley, a brother probably of Viscount Lumley, who was created Earl of Scarbrough, sets forth his views on the subject.

FROM DEAN GRANVILLE TO . . . LUMLEY.

"Sedgefield, *Mar.* 19, $168\frac{7}{8}$.

"Sir.—Hoping this will find you in condition of health enough to consider of the inclosed paper of reasons and to write your thoughts, I do beseech you to send me your judgment thereof by Joseph Smith, whom I have commanded to bring me an account of yours and Mrs. Lumley's condition and welfare.

" The queries which I hold in the affirmative you may consider of, if you have a mind, and send me a resolution at leisure. But I expect your judgment in writing by Joseph tomorrow on my paper of reasons, and I desire you to be free with me, and let me know whether they be sound and solid for my present complyance with the King and Bishop.

" I can be contented to die for, but will never rebell, or resist my lawfull Prince, to save the religion of the Church of England. But men generally now seem of another mind. People are inclined to rebell, and Priests disposed to resist, but call it non-compliance and neither of them methinks think it a crime, if it be on account of the Protestant religion. I cannot bring my conscience to commit what I believe to be a crime, a present and worse evil, to avoid future evils, many of which are only created by the fears and jealousies of people Nor will I hough-band, or so much as hamper or fetter my Soveraign, God's deputy, to incapacitate him to hurt either my life, estate, or religion. I'le leave them in his power, as God has done: if the King goes beyond his commission, he must answer for it to God, but I'le not deface any one line thereof. Let my liege and dread Soveraign intend to do what he pleases to me or mine, yet my hand shall never be upon him, so much as to cut of the skirt of his garment.

" In this Magna Charta aim'd at by the King for establishing his Declaration, our religion will be established in the first place, and others incapacitated to hurt us as much as we to hurt them. And if we can't be put into better circumstances without resisting the King in lawful commands, there is no remedy but Christian patience. A half loaf is better than no bread.

" I am now much censured at present, but I censure my censurers more for their semi-loyalty, which is that

which now portends most dreadfully. Let us do our duty and leave God to maintain his own cause. *Never do evil that good may come of it.* I rest, with my service to Mrs. Lumley.

"Your very affectionate friend and brother,

"DENIS GRANVILLE,"

"Mr. Woodmas begins to have some odd notions of a limited supremacy."

Consistently with these sentiments, which, in his case, were not those of a mere sycophantic time-server, like his Bishop (Crewe), the Dean was one of the few clergymen who obeyed the King's order, and read the Declaration himself, and caused it to be read also in twenty out of the sixty-five churches of his Archdeaconry. But he writes sorrowfully that "not one Major or Minor Cannon resident in the Cathedral could be prevail'd with to read his Majestie's Declaration. But nothing is yet done, the Bishop remaining still at Auckland, tho' this seems to me very great contempt of authority. Mr. C(ock) and the rest of the Clergy of the Citty refused, tho' the Bishop enjoyned them and spoke in particular to them. In the Diocesse allso, I heare, it will bee generally refused, unlesse it bee here and there by some very few. T'was read I am told at Brancepeth, Barnard Castle, and South Church. I am mightily surprised at this unexpressed spirit of opposition."

The following letter, without signature, to Dr. Beveridge respecting a proposed conference on some point of controversy, perhaps the impending national crisis, is clearly, from the last sentence, written by the Dean, who probably may have even then been in danger of arrest for debt.

FROM DEAN GRANVILLE TO REVD. DR. BEVERIDGE.

"*June 12th*, 1688.

"From Mr. Hutton's over against the Miter
"Taverne in King's Street, Westminster.

"REVEREND SIR,—The opinion that I have not only of your learning and judgement, but of your sincere piety and love to y^e^ Order of the Church of England (and together with al y^e^ rest of your rare humility), does cause your authority to be so great with me, that al things which you shal lay to me wil have their due regard from me. But I confess I cannot easily submit my judgement in some things which I have consider'd and thought on (as wel as I am capable to think of any matter), to y^e^ judgement of many great men, tho' never so eminent for learning and zeal against y^e^ Church of Rome, who yet are notoriously deficient in their love to y^e^ Church of England (as wel as that lovely and inestimable grace of humility), in some of y^e^ most substantial parts of God's worship which are y^e^ main end of their doctrine and zeal. And according to that due respect and veneracion which I have for you, I shal seriously consider (as far as my memory wil help me) of every thing which you did last night say to me, as I do faithfully promise you that I wil readily own and renounce every errour whereof you shal convince me; and I do beseech y^e^ God of heaven to make you instrumental (who are y^e^ likeliest man in England to do y^e^ same) to discover what errours I have suck'd in, either by reason of my education, or circumstances. I shal lay both my head and heart open befor you, that you may be able to give judgement of both, and I hope you wil take a little pains with me to set

me right wheresoever you conceive me in y^e^ wrong. And befor we make any further progress of our intended conference it is requisite that you be fully inform'd in one particular concerning me, which in short is this: I have really a defect in carrying away mens sense and reasonings in their discourse when they argue any point with me, and indeed I have been so often impos'd on when I have been in y^e^ right, and they in y^e^ wrong, by y^e^ sophistry and assurance of my opponents that I dare not trust my self nor them, unles their arguments wil bear my eye as wel as ear. Therefor if any man would goe y^e^ most expeditious and effectual way to convince me, they must condescend so far as to pen down their arguments, and to allow me y^e^ same liberty to answer them after due consideration. And my present positions for which I am condemn'd, are matters of so great moment that I ought to goe the most sure way to work in discovering y^e^ truth or errour of them, the whole thinge of y^e^ busines in contraversy turns upon them. If they are to be maintain'd in y^e^ affirmative. I have done nothing amiss in my past complyances, if not I would fain have y^e^ places of them laid befor me, and if it please God to make, by your means, them evident to me, I hope to give some demonstration by y^e^ grace of God, that I am no obstinate person.

"You knowing circumstances that I cannot without some hazard visit you, unless it be upon a Sunday; but yet however, rather then lose the satisfaction of conferring with you (a felicity which y^e^ Dean of Durham can seldom enjoy) I will venture to waite on you sometimes in the evening, or any other hour which you think convenient, provided I may be assured not to lose my labour by coming when you are not at leisure. I shall be glad to receive a line from you by the peny post to inform me what hour

you can best allot to such a purpose; which is all at present but that I am, Reverend Sir,

"Your faithfull friend, affectionate brother
"and humble servant."

[Endorsed:—] "A Copy of a letter to Dr. Breveridge."

On the 27th of August he penned the following reflections on the "dismal prognosticks of the times":—

"THINGS WHICH PORTEND VERY FATALLY TO THE "GOVERNMENT AND CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

"1. An universall aptitude in men to receive, multiply and magnify fears and jealousyes of the King.

"2. The generality of the subjects of England (contrary to the rule of charity) putting the worst construction on the designs and actings of their Sovereign.

"3. Men's discovering by their preposterous courses (tho' they dare not speak it with their mouthes) that they think their allegiance to the King (because of a different religion) not the same that it would be to a protestant prince.

"4. An industrious endeavour for a long time throughout the land to alienate the subjects' affection from their Soveraigne.

"5. The spirit of popularity at present soe universally reigning as to overthrow many honest and good men, who seem affraid any longer to doe their duty to their King, and act according to their principles, for fear of the *Mobile*.

"6. An extraordinary forwardness, both in Clergy as well as Gentry, to dispute and rudely to contend with their Prince, nay, insolently to insult over him, upon the lest

success; made too apparent by the issue of the late tryall of the Bishops in Westminster Hall.

"7. The itch of disputation, infinitely prevailing in this age, above the spirit of Divine charity and true devotion, men relying too much on their arguements, and too little on their prayers.

"8. Men being now agitated more than ever by an intemperate zeal against popery, as heretofore against fanaticisme, shewing much more aversion to their adversaryes than love to their own religion.

"9. Most men, even divines, manifesting an excessive fear that popery will come in, and yet all the while neglect to betake themselves to the most assured means to keep it out, to wit, *amendment of life and exact conformity to the Churche's rules, and training upp the young generation by the exercise of Catechisme.*

"10. Too many flying to unjustifyable means to preserve their religion, and proclaiming by their actions that they are resolved to rebell rather than lett it goe.

"11. People using their strength and number to bring their Soveraigne to termes, and endeavouring by all meanes possible to hough-band him (if I may be permitted to speak in the northern phrase), I mean, not to leave it in his power to hurt them either in their religion, lawes, lives, or estates, which is, in plain English, to unking him."

About the end of September the intelligence that the Prince of Orange was preparing an armament for the invasion of England reached the ears of Dean Granville. Anxious to vindicate the ancient reputation for loyalty of the Diocese of Durham, his first care was to establish, if it were possible, the parishioners of his country cures in his own high principles of "subjection and allegiance to

their Sovereign," shewing them that "subjects were upon no consideration whatsoever, neither of religion, liberty, nor life, to resist or desert their lawful Sovereign, tho' he were no better than such an one as St. Paul lived under when he writ the Epistle to the Romans, not only a heathen, but a cruel persecutor, a Nero, a Caligula, or a Dioclesian; and that subjects to a Christian Prince and to a prince soe mercifull and gracious as ours, by consequence would be more guilty, if they should rebell against or resist him, merely because he professed a different religion."

He then repaired to his Deanery at Durham, and "summoned his brethren the Prebendaryes together into their Chapter house," for the purpose of laying before them the duty which he conceived was incumbent on them all to assist the King in his present exigency "with their purses as well as their prayers." All present complied with the Dean's proposition, and an Act in Chapter was passed, granting £700 for his Majesty's service: £100 from the Dean, and £50 from each of the Prebendaries, to which all who were absent from Durham at the time, with one exception, gave their assent by letter. The Bishop being absent in London, Granville next called the Clergy of his Archdeaconry together to confirm, if it might be, the loyalty of the wavering, and to do all that in him lay, as he somewhat pathetically expresses it, "to awaken those out of their sin whom he could not confirm in their duty." In the course of the address he delivered to them he earnestly set before them the duty of assisting their Sovereign at the impending crisis, and of securing their flocks by every means in their power from being seduced by the arguments of his enemies.

The Dean was further anxious that his brethren of the Chapter and the Magistracy of the County should have

united with him in a loyal address to the King, expressive of their horror of the invasion with which his dominions were threatened, but the proposition was coldly received, and he was obliged to satisfy himself by forwarding to his Majesty his own personal assurances of devoted allegiance.

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty,—The hearty and humble address of your Majestyes ever loyall and faithfull subject and servant the Dean of Durham.

"May it please your Sacred Majesty. In time of an invasion, as in a common inundation or calamity by fire, when everyone is bound in duty to preserve the house, citty, or country, whereof he is a member, without usuall ceremony or complement to superiours or equalls, I doe judge it an indispensable duty of every faithfull and right-loyall subject to hasten to assist his soveraign with his purse as well as his prayers to the utmost of his power and ability, and therefore not daring to stay till all my betters haue given me example in addressing before me, or all my inferiour brethren have agreed of a forme to addresse with me, I doe heartily offer to your Majesty all that I haue to spare for your present service, thinking nothing mine own in such a time of danger but what is sufficient to suffice nature; assureing you withall that I doe not only, from the bottom of my soul, abhor and detest this treacherous and unnaturall invasion of the Prince of Orange, together with all the other wicked, rebellious, and bloody designes of his adherents, whether enemyes at home or abroad, (and more particularly of those among us who haue lately revolted from their allegiance), but doe, with great indignation, renounce all manner of violence, force, and contempt of authority, offer'd to your sacred person or government, either by rabble (the very dreggs of the Mobile) in the

citty as well as rebells in the field, conceiving it as great a sin to use any compulsive arguments to constrain or terrify God's vice-gerent into a complyance with the will and desires of his subjects, be they never soe much for the good of himselfe, Church, or Kingdome, having learnt in the communion of my mother, the Church of England, (wherein I am firmly resolved to live and dye) other principles than to teach my supreme or any my superiors, what he or they ought to doe, with a sword in my hand, or compel a soveraign monarch, whether he will or noe, to doe his duty and gratify his people, sooner than he is inclined, of his own necessity (whereof he is best judge) will permitt. Satisfying my selfe with the repeated assureance which your Majesty hath already given of our religion, lawes, and libertyes, together with all your past and present gracious condescentions to remove the feares and jealousyes of your people, resolving to stay your leisure for the calling of a parliament, and all other means and methods which are in your Majestye's choice for the securing your own royal person or establishment of your government in Church or State.

"DENIS GRANVILLE,
"Dean of Durham

"Nov. 27, '88."

The Prince of Orange had arrived with his fleet in Torbay, on the 4th of November, and had been joined at once by a number of influential persons; amongst others, to the Dean's inexpressible shame and sorrow, by his own brother, the Earl of Bath, who was governor of the town and citadel of Plymouth. Having seized the Earl of Huntingdon and all the other Roman Catholic officers and

soldiers in the garrison, he won over the allegiance of the rest of the troops, and then admitted part of the Dutch fleet into the harbour of Plymouth, and despatched his own regiment under the command of his nephew, Sir Bevil Granville, the eldest son of his brother, Bernard, to Jersey, where the papists were again disarmed, and the island secured to the Prince.

This conduct on the part of Lord Bath sullied, in the Dean's opinion, the hitherto stainless loyalty of the house of Granville. Writing to him the following year, he says:

"I think I may truely say, without vanity or ostentation, that every one of us haue been, through the mercy of God, trained up in as deep a sense of that profound respect and submission which is due from subjects to their supreme, as any family in the nation, haueing been in an extra-ordinary manner blest with loyall and religious parents and progenitors, who haue given the best evidence of their sincere and hearty dutifullness to their soveraigne in sealing it with their blood. And till this late never enough to be deplored generall defection, which seemed to carry with it an irresistible contagion beyond the power of the strongest antidote, there hath never a blemish of disloyalty, blessed be God, been fixed on the family of the Granvilles, or in the meanest branch thereof, and that there should any person now lye under that censure is to me an intollerable mortification, and the heaviest part of my affliction amidst my sufferings for my fidelity to the Crowne."

His loyal address to the King was intercepted at York, and fell into the hands of the Earl of Danby (whose youngest daughter, Lady Martha Osborne, was married to Lord Bath's eldest son), and the other adherents of the Prince of Orange, who had already seized upon that city,

and "were some of them advancing northward to secure Durham and Newcastle." A fruitless attempt was made by the Dean to induce the magistrates and deputy-lieutenants to take measures to check this advance, and Durham was entered by Lord Lumley with a small force on Wednesday, the 5th of December, while the Dean was preaching one of the Advent sermons in the Cathedral, chosing for his subject that of "Christian Resolution and humble submission to the will of God in times of distress," which he based on "the holy Patriarch Jacob's farewell words to his sons att parting. 'If I be bereaved of my children, I am bereaved.'"—Gen., ch. xliii., v. 14.

No opposition was offered to Lord Lumley's advance. The Dean was summoned to deliver up his arms and horses, and, on refusal, was confined a close prisoner within the walls of his Deanery during the occupation of the city by the friends of the invader. The Prince of Orange's Declaration having been publickly read by Lord Lumley at the Castle and Market Cross, and sanctioned by the presence of most of the country gentry, he was encouraged to demand admittance into Newcastle, but meeting with opposition to this farther advance, he withdrew to York.

The Dean now stood alone, or nearly so, as an adherent of James; nevertheless he mounted the Cathedral pulpit the following Sunday, with unabated courage, to discharge his conscience, by preaching another "seasonable loyall sermon" (a continuation of the same subject that he had preached upon the preceding Wednesday) "to perswade the members of that Church, and all the auditory, to stand firm in their allegiance in that day of temptation, and never to joyn in the least wayes with that horrid rebellion which was at that time sett on foot in the nation." These two Sermons were afterwards printed by him at Rouen, together

with certain letters, namely, to his brother, the Earl of Bath, to his Bishop (the Bishop of Durham), to his brethren the Prebendaries, to the Clergy of his Archdeaconry, and to his Curates of Easington and Sedgefield Only twenty copies saw the light, and of these there remain one in the British Museum and one in the Bodleian Library, where there is also, amongst the Rawlinson MSS., a manuscript copy of the Dean's publication, as there is also one amongst the Hunter MSS. in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham. The Surtees' Society have reprinted the publication, after collating Dr. Hunter's MS. with the printed copy and the Rawlinson MS.

Matters now wore a hopeless aspect, as far as King James' cause was concerned, and the Dean began to despair of being of any further service to his Sovereign by remaining at his post. His personal liberty appears also to have been in some danger, and so, after much consideration, he finally resolved upon flight. Accordingly, at midnight on the 11th of December, Dean Granville quitted the walls of the Deanery, never again, as it proved, to re-enter them. His journey to Carlisle, his reception there, and the hardships he underwent before he could escape to Edinburgh and embark for France, are thus graphically described by him in his letter to Lord Bath.

"On the 11th of December, at midnight, by the help of two faithfull servants which I did dare trust, I got my horses prepared, and was conducted by one of them that night to Hexam, where I procured an honest guide to Carlisle, the nearest of the King's garrisons and the most considerable place (as I conceived) which then held out for the King, Hull being reduced the week before.

"I had no sooner got to Carlisle (where I was very

kindly received by Mr. Howard the Governor, Coll. Purcell, Capt. Hern and other officers there) but the very day after, being Saturday, the post brought in the dismall newes of the defeat of some of his Majestyes troops at Reading, and others deserting in such sort that he was forced to withdraw out of the Kingdom, together with some intimations to the Governor that it was to noe purpose for him to hold out the place, but that he, being a Roman Catholick, it would be most prudent, and not displeasing to his Majesty, for him to retire, and leave the government to the old Governor, to wit, Sir Christopher Musgrave, who came into this town on Saturday night, and entered on the government appearing in the Governors seat on Sunday the 15th in the Cathedrall.

"This direful catastrophe, which did both astonish and afflict me, to see our Soveraign, a gracious prince, treated with so much brutality, betrayed by those he thought his best friends, deserted by his nearest relations, forbidden his own palace, and forced out of his Kingdom, did immediately, without much consideration, incline me to leave it alsoe, to manifest my just indignation against rebellion and treachery, which had then spread themselves almost over the whole nation; and did resolve accordingly to hasten into France, to share with my Soveraign in his misfortunes. In order whereunto (after I had visited the Bishopp of Carlisle at Rose Castle, craved his benediction, and deposited with his Lordshipp some solemne assureances of liveing and dying in the right Church of England religion) I departed from Carlisle on Wednesday the 19th towards Scotland with a single servant, a Scotchman, whom I had newly entertained to conduct me to Edinburgh, hoping at Leith, or some other sea port on that coast, to procure shipping for France. But resting a day or two, att

a certain place called Allison Bank on the Borders, to conferr with an honest loyall gentleman who had arranged there to meet me, I fell into the hands of the rabble who then with fury raged up and down, on the fireing of the beacons thereabouts, very rashly and indiscreetly, by some credulous and temporiseing justices, who gave credit to the false and malicious reports of the landing of Irish papists, burning of towns and massacreing of people wherever they came.

"These villaynes, headed by one Palmer, a notorious rogue and murderer, who had but lately escaped the gallowes, seiz'd on me for a popish priest and jesuit on St. Thomas' day, about 11 at night, and pulled me out of my bed, rifling my pockets and my chamber, carrying away my horses (two geldings worth £40) and my portmantoe, and mounting me on a little jade not worth 40s.

"Thus disgracefully conducting me to a poor alehouse on the English side, three miles off, where they search'd my portmantoe, and plundered me of a bagg of mony and some small pieces of plate, with other things, leaveing me afterwards in the hands of the watch and a constable to lead me away on foot, in a severe cold frosty night, with heavy rideing coat and great boots (ill accoutrements for walking) to march to Carlisle, to be examined before one Capt. Bub and other officers then in the garrison, and by whom they did hope to haue been rewarded (as they afterwards declared) for their good services to their country, in secureing (as they stiled me) a fugitive and dangerous person.

"But being well known in the citty, and travelling with Sir Christopher Musgrave's pass, they missed of their expectation, and received a rebuke, whilst I had my horses and the greatest part of my money restored me, and was sett

at liberty, either to stay or depart the towne: and indeed can onely complain of the Mayor and some of the magistrates, who instead of committing the fellowes for felony and burglary, they breaking open a stable door in the night to take away my geldings, lett them goe without soe much as entring into recognizance.

"Tho' I was now a second time at liberty, by a happy providence to goe where I pleased, and promised a pass, if I would goe home to Durham, I did think it most prudent to continue awhile in that citty, to remove the suspicion of my intended flight out of England; and accordingly lived unconcernedly there for 14 or 15 dayes, constantly attending God's publick service, and preaching in the cathedrall on Christmas-day, whereby I convinced the people, I hope, that I was noe popish priest nor jesuit.

"After this, the country being more quiet, and noe watches kept, nor noise of Irish papists, which had for a moneth before intoxicated (as it were) that and other parts of England, I left the towne of Carlisle, and ventured back towards Durham as far as Hexam; but with noe intention to goe home, designeing, after I had shifted off a guide and some servants who were sent with letters to me, to strike out of the road by Berwick towards Scotland: which I did, blessed be God, without any other considerable impediment, and on the 26th of Jan. last arrived safe at Edinburgh, endeavouring, as soon as I could, to get admittance into the Castle, and wait on the Duke of Gordon, to whom I communicated my designe of going to the King, and by whom I was informed of a vessell then in the roade, ready to depart for France; which opportunity I made use of, and was, after many tempests and a tedious voyage by reason of contrary winds, at last safely landed att Honfleur, over against Haver-de-grace, by the mouth of the river Seine, on

the 19th day of March, N.S., and the very day after his Majestyes departure from Brest for Ireland, which missing of the King was a great disappointment and mortification to mee.

" Being somewhat indisposed after my long and troublesome voyage (tho' I was neuer sick at sea) and in some danger, as I thought, of an ague, I rested a whole week in that place, where I found all persons more than ordinarily civill to me, upon their being satisfied, that is, my loyalty had brought me there, and that I was fled to the King; tho' I own'd my selfe not onely a protestant and an ecclesiastick, but an Englishman, which is now thought imprudent, and a shame to confesse ones selfe, unless he carryes with him undeniable testimonyes of his late fidelity to his Prince. After I had paid my respects to the Governour the Marquess of Beuron, and returned the complements I had received, on the 25th I departed for Rouen, where I judged meet (since his Majesty had left the Kingdome) to fix awhile, and to recruit my selfe; being alsoe induced thereto by the great friendshipp and civility of Mr. Thomas Hackett, an honest and loyall merchant, who welcomed me to towne with great respect and kindness, supplyed me with monyes, tho' a stranger to him without recommendation (whereas one to whom I was recommended failed me) and kindly entertained me at his house."

Whilst staying at Rouen a violent asthmatic cough, which had for a long time troubled him, increased so much that ulceration of the lungs was feared for him; but this having been warded off by the skilful treatment of his physician, " a kind and faithful friend in adversity, not to be found in our age every day and in every place," he continued to stay on there for some time, occupying himself during the earlier period in committing to the Press the

two last sermons he had delivered in the Cathedral at Durham, and the various letters already referred to.

As soon as he had made up his mind to stay on at Rouen he wrote to the King in Ireland to inform him of his arrival in France, and of the manner of his escape, with an assurance of his unalterable loyalty, and professing himself as zealous to espouse his service during his exile and adversity as he had been when he was on the throne. He also gave the same assurance to the Queen and young Prince, and stated his desire, as soon as his health permitted, to come and live near them at St. Germains.

In February, 1690, he undertook "a hazardous journey into England whereby he got a small sum of money to subsist awhile abroad . . . . tho' with much trouble and danger, occasioned him by an impertinent and malitious post master, who discovered him in Canterbury."

From the following letter, addressed to Archbishop Sancroft after his arrival in England, it is evident that he had entirely withdrawn himself from all communion with those who had taken the oath to the new Sovereigns.

FROM DEAN GRANVILLE TO ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT.

"My Lord,—Tho' I am come into England and desire to depart incognito, yet I conceive it not only a great indecorum but breach of duty, to conceale my being here from your Grace: which doth ingage me in this present presumption of disturbing you with this letter to informe you thereof, and humbly to begg your Grace's benediction, having the happiness of a good conveiance by a fit bearer, (my nephew George Granville[1]) every way qualified for the

[1] Afterward created Lord Lansdowne of Bideford; he was Secretary of War, Comptroller of the Household, Treasurer, and one of the Privy Council to Queen Anne.

delivery of the same, being one of those few to whom I haue discovered myself, and who can give true information of mee (to obviate reports concerning me which may haue flown to Lambeth and elsewhere) as well as intimations from me. If my application to your Grace doth render me nowise serviceable to you (which I should rejoice it might do) it will (I am sure) be beneficiall to myself, and effectuall enough (I hope) to keep up my interest in the devotions of your chappell, where I am present in spirit, especially when you are at the Altar, and, which I dare say of few other places, desiring the orthodox frequenters thereof, both at the greater Festivall and hereafter, to exercise so much charity as to remember and commend to God one who, tho' ever weak and feeble in all capacity, hath been owned by Heaven, and supported by the Divine Grace hitherto, to withstand all the blasts etc. that he hath met with from any point of the compas, by land or sea, at home or abroad, and who is resolved, by the assistance of that Spirit which bloweth where it listeth, and often uses weak instruments, etc. to retain, live, and die in those honest notions and principles of the Church of England which hee suck'd in almost with his milk, and were afterwards distill'd and fix'd in him by some lucky masters, now with God, and more especially by his ever honor'd and venerable patron (whose memory I know will ever be pretious with your Grace) that first brought him into that Cathedral Church (where he was blest with your Grace's acquaintance) from which (when most absent in body) he had neuer departed in affection, nor withdrew, so long as he could retaine his innocence, which will in due time amply appeare. In the meanwhile my lord, all I desire and aim at is to satisfy my Metropolitan (I dare own no other) that, since I am upheld in my my present zeale by his

renowned example, I can, and hope I still shall, live above the example of any that contradict it: even that of my beloved friends Dr. B[everidge] and Sir G. Wh[eler] at whom I do much admire. *God strengthen those that stand, etc., and raise up them that fall, etc.*

"I shall, my lord, give you no farther trouble than in this low ebb of pure unsophisticated devotion (when primitively episcopal blessings are so rare) to repeat the request for your benediction and continuance of your prayers upon all Christian accounts, etc., and particularly that God will be pleased to accept of my honest intentions, etc. in separating from those of my brethren, (who did begin to defile the priesthood, pollute his house, and adulterate his worship,) and remember mee for good, not according to my merit (I confess myself not worthy to carry out the dung of God's sacrifices) but according to the greatness of his mercy.

"Your goodness (my lord) in such a charitable condescension will at present revive and comfort my poor weather-beaten soule, and eternally oblige, My Lord, Your Grace's ever faithful and unalterably obedient servant,

"DENIS GRANVILLE.

"April 20th, 1690.

"Easter Eve."

Through the interest of Lord Bath the Dean was enabled for some time to retain his revenues, and even after the 1st of February, 1691 (the day fixed by Act of Parliament for the deprivation of all those clergy who, up to that date, should have refused compliance with the conditions which it imposed,) he appears to have retained them, for there is a resolution entered in the Acts of the Durham

Chapter, dated February 4, 1700, "That Dr. Granville have all the arrear'd rents pro annis $16\frac{90}{1}$, $16\frac{91}{2}$, $16\frac{92}{3}$, $16\frac{93}{4}$"; and Mrs. Granville (who had not accompanied her husband into exile, and who had lately had all her goods and chattels distrained by the Sheriff of the County in consequence of the Dean's pecuniary embarrassments, so that she was homeless as well as penniless, save for the interest of the £1,000 settled on her by her father) received £20 quarterly out of his revenues from Michaelmas 1690; an order which was generously renewed on the appointment of his successor, but she did not live long to enjoy this kindness, as she died that same year, 1691, and was buried in the Cathedral. It is difficult after so long a lapse of time to form, perhaps, a correct opinion of Dennis Granville's treatment of his afflicted wife. Doubtless we are not a little inclined to condemn him, and to think that he treated her somewhat unkindly. It is pleasant reading, therefore, to find the following testimony to the contrary from the pen of his faithful servant and registrar, John Proud. "He was the best of husbands to her, and took all imaginable care for her recovery. She was a very pious good woman, and the best of all her sisters (that I know) in the intervalls of her distemper, which lessened as she grew older. He had no children by her, which I often heard him blesse God for."

The acceptance of the Deanery by Dr. Comber, a man with whom he had associated for years on terms of the most intimate friendship, was deeply felt by Granville, who bitterly writes to Beveridge that he "hath at last proclaimed to all the world that he lov'd my benefices better than he did my person." To the last he regarded him as an intruder, and from time to time he wrote to him from France, reminding his former friend that he considered him

only in the light of his steward, and that on the restoration of his Sovereign, and his own consequent resumption of his preferments, he should look to him for a strict account of all the monies he had received in the capacity of Dean of Durham.

After the defeat of James II. in Ireland, Dean Granville repaired to the fallen monarch's Court at St. Germains, where he was received with great kindness, and welcomed by the Royal Family, who, though rigid and undeviating in their obedience and attachment to the Church of Rome, nevertheless regarded him with special favour, in spite of his firm and unalterable adherence to the Church of England. The King procured him an annuity, and had him constantly about his person, and, upon the death of Dr. Lamplugh in 1691, conferred upon him, it is said, the title, empty though it was, of Archbishop of York. As an instance of his intimate and familiar relations with the royal family, Dr. Granville boasts in one of his letters that the little princess, Maria, the only child born in exile, acknowledged him as "her first acquaintance, being the first man alive that beheld her sweet face after she came into the world." It is true that no sanction was give him to minister publicly to the other members of the Church of England, who had followed the Court into exile, and were anxious to have him as their chaplain, but under the circumstances this refusal was, perhaps, not altogether to be wondered at. The Roman Catholic priests at St. Germains were excessively bitter, and very jealous of the favour in which the Dean was held at Court, and they did their utmost to bring over every Protestant to their own Church, and the Dean himself seems to have been especially signalled out as an object of their attacks. After the King's death these assaults became more violent, and they not only procured

PRINCE JAMES FRANCIS EDWARD STUART
WITH HIS SISTER
PRINCESS LOUISA MARIA THERESA STUART.

the reduction of his annuity by £20, but also obtained an Order from the Court that he should retire to Corbeil, and confine himself to his own house; but the Queen's attachment for him still continued, and she gave him out of her own purse "many 20 guineys when she had not many to spare for herself."

All this disproves what Surtees states in his "History of Durham" (I., 12), that the Dean was "slighted by the bigoted Prince, for whom he had forfeited every worldly possession, because he would not also abandon his religion."

In 1695, Dennis Granville again came over *incognito* to England, but soon returned. No allusion to this visit is found in his correspondence, but its object in all probability was to obtain pecuniary assistance; a plan having been set on foot in this year for the relief of the non-juring clergy, many of whom were reduced to great straits. There is preserved amongst the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian a series of twenty-eight letters from the Dean, addressed to his faithful servant, John Proud, who had become steward to Lord Barnard, at Raby Castle, Yorkshire. Proud was, apparently, the only person that was concerned in his affairs, after he gave way to the *secundus* and *extraneus* Dr. Comber, and these letters afford clear proof of the painful anxieties as to the very means of existence by which the Dean and many others, who formed the little Court at St. Germains, were oppressed. They nearly all of them contain expressions of great trouble of mind on account of the delays which often occurred before the remittances came to hand, and the difficulty which Proud evidently had, not infrequently, to raise the amount which the Dean's exigencies required. "I have much to do", he writes, "to keep my head above water; which I yet do, God be praised, being (ever since our bargaine) out of my marchant's debt

and other men's." Yet in all his troubles the Dean seems to have kept up his usual good spirits, and his anxious forebodings as to the safety of his remittances are frequently interspersed with pleasantries. Thus he writes, under date, 5th of November, 1700:—

"Having just now pierced one of the ankers you have kindly sent me in the presence of an honest English friend who understands good liquor (and it proving, as expected, a cup of good humming liquor) I cannot forbeare to give you an account that the barrels have well escaped both sea and sea-men, and that there is now good ground to hope that, if you will continue the friendly practice you have begun, and send a yearly supply of such drink, it may arrive in good plight, espetially if it be attended on and garded with a couple of potts of venison."

In another letter he reminds Proud that his patron had given him some authority in his park at Raby, "from whence I expect, if you send more liquor, (which will never be unacceptable) a relishing bit; as I do from my Northumberland friends a pot of salmon."

And again:—

"Among my other friends I pray make a kind complement to Don Diego" (a Mr. Smith, who had been chaplain to the Dean's nephew, Lord Lansdowne, when he was Ambassador at Madrid) "my warme bedfellow, betwixt whom on my right hand and Will Wheeler on my left, I was one night like to be stowed at the Bookbinders in Paul's Churchyard, which you ought not to forget. I pray tell him I haue not so much respect for a Don as for a Mon-

sieur, being originally a Frenchman; yet I haue a great esteem for his merit, and can condemne him for nothing but for what I did many years since lay to his charge . . . I expect from some of the Court a present of chocholat and I hope that it will come to my hands more luckily than that which my grave and learned Don brought me from Spain, which had the misfortune to be sold at Dunkerk, with his patron's snuff, and one book and sermon notes!"

CHAPTER XIV.

In 1698, in order probably to avoid the daily insults of the priests at St. Germains, and the dreaded consequences of the jealousies with which they possessed King James' Court against him, the Dean removed to Tremblet, a faubourg of Corbeil upon the Seine, about half way between Paris and Fontainbleau. Here he lived "with as much quiet and pleasure as a man in my circumstances could expect, enjoying the honor and respect of all the inhabitants, with all other conveniences, from my private devotions to my very divertisement of angling (which I love above other)." But after living there three years he made the unexpected discovery that Corbeil had formed part of the possessions of his remote ancestors, a fact which not only imparted a peculiar interest to the little town in his own eyes, but also caused him to be regarded with additional respect and attention by the inhabitants as the descendant of one of their ancient lords.

"I have lately and happily discover'd that this town, a very antient little town, and pleasant place in a fine country, in the middle between Paris and Fontainbleau, hath been the seat of my ancestors; and that this Corbeil-sur-Seine (as stiled to distinguish it from another Corbeil in the province of Gatinois) is that Corbeil whereof there were antiently Earles (who were, as many others in France, little

soveraine Princes) from one of whom I haue made out my descent in a strait line, by confronting my Pedigree sent me out of England with the written antiquities and records of the towne, greatly to my honour and satisfaction, which is made beyond all dispute, as was so acknowledged by my Father (*i.e.* the King) himself, as he passed by us, by comparing my armes in my seale with Count Hamon's on his tomb, who sent two sons with his cosen germain William the Conqueror into England. You haue I suppose in your country, at least in the study of Sir G. Wh[eler] a book of verses printed and published by Dr. Berk[head], in the preface whereof you will find mention made of this famous Hamon Dentatus and his two renowned sons, that assisted King William the Conqueror in the year 1066 at the battaile of Hastings, to win the crown of England.

"The making out my descent as above hath made me known to some noble familyes at Court, now flourishing, allyed to the Counts of Corbeil, who can do kindnesses in a strait, and are likely (in case God takes away my F[ather] (*i.e.* the King) to get my annuity now allowed me continued by the King of France.

"Corbeil upon the Seine, *Aug.* 19, 1701.

"I may by my providentiall discovery to all here that I am not only originally French, but descended from a cosen germain even of a Queen of France, sister to the Emperor Otho, be enabled to play a good after-game and obtain by a petition to the Grand and most generous Monarch, back'd with the recommendations of my Father etc. (who increases in strength dayly) more than my lost salary. And as a step to this project a fresh providence seems to concur. Upon making out publickly my descent from the aforenamed

famous Count, in high veneration, almost adored for a Saint, I am made known to some noble familyes, and receiued but yesterday from a very noble old Countess of 84 years old, but lusty and strong, a kind invitation to her Castle, 4 leagues of, and to stay with her a week or fortnight, to divert my self in her ponds and river that goes thorow her Park."

"*March* 10, 1702.

"I cannot omit to tell you of one special providentiall good turn. Soon after I had discovered last summer the tomb[1] of my renowned ancestor Count Hamon, reviewing the antiquityes of the town where I live, written by one Mr. de la Barne, in the presence of a Chaplain of a famous old Countess in my neighbourhood (much such an one as the old Countess of Pembroke) we discovered the name of an ancestor of the said old Countess, related to, as we fancyed, Count Hamon, which occasioned the said Chaplain the carry over the book to the old Countess, a brave, pious, generous and charitable old lady, espetially towards Churchmen, (being stiled the Mother of the Clergy) and, I know not how, he hath wrought me in to the good opinion of this gallant heroick lady, insomuch that I haue secured as hearty a welcome at her castle and table for a month, two or three, with the use of a famous library, as at a brother's house. And as an expression of her favour she sent me (during my retirement) rabbits last winter from her warren which are the best in Fr[ance], from whence the King of Fr[ance], is supplied."

[1] The tomb of Hamon Dentatus in the choir of the church of St. Spire at Corbeil was destroyed in the revolution of 1793, but the stone figure may still be seen, in a very mutilated condition, in one of the chapels of the same church.

He evidently hoped to benefit pecuniarily by the discovery of his descent from the Earls of Corbeil. To prove it would, however, entail the expenditure of some money, and he trusts that Proud will be able to send some.

"I have some irons in the fire, and I need money to blow the forge.

"My head is mighty full of new projects (on my discovery that this Corbeil where I live is the Corbeil whereof Hamon Dentatus, my ancestor and their founder, was Earle, and that the said Earle was descended from Charlemagne) which are likely to be greatly impeded, if not wholly dash'd, by want of money, never so necessary as when one hath business with a Court and Courtiers, tho' possibly not so absolutely necessary in the Court of France as in the Court of England.

"I am preparing a Petition to his Majesty on discovering my Ancestor's descent from the Kings of France; whereof I do not talk much unless it hitts."

The summer and autumn of the year 1701 brought much sorrow to Dr. Granville. On the 14th of June his "loving and beloved" brother, Bernard, died, and on the 22nd of August, Lord Bath also died, being followed on the 4th of September by his eldest son, Lord Granville, who was found dead in his chair in his bedchamber, wounded in the head, with a brace of pistols by his side, one being discharged. He had, it is supposed, accidentally shot himself whilst preparing for the journey into Cornwall to convey his father's body for burial at Kilkhampton. Consequently, the remains both of himself and his father were taken down together and interred in the family vault on the 22nd of September. Lord Granville, the second

Earl of Bath, left an only son, who thus became third Earl, and thence arose the saying that "there were three Earls of Bath above ground at the same time." What the Dean's relations were with his elder brother, whose defection from James II. had been the cause of much mortification and sorrow to him, is not quite clear. In May of this year the Dean had, in a letter to Proud, called those days "a time of variance betwixt brothers and brothers, fathers and sons," which points to an estrangement between them, yet it would appear that some at least of his relations had furnished him from time to time with funds, as the faithful Proud, in his letter of condolence on his bereavements, offers to supply, as far as he could, their places from his own purse. But, however, this may be, the Dean's sorrow for their loss was evidently eclipsed by the intense sorrow which he felt at the death, on the 16th of September in this same year, of King James, the best friend he had, his Father, as he loved to call him, for whose sake he had sacrificed dignities and honours, ample revenues, and all the comforts of his native land. This is clear from the following letter which he wrote to Proud at the time:—

"The wise man tells us that a servant may be quallified to become a son at the last, and I cannot deny but that you may haue a just title to such a privilege; wherefore I do adopt you, and henceforth allow (you) to be one of the number, and a gratious one, since you do kindly offer me that I shall *partake of your bread, rather than want it;* than which nothing can be spoken more affectionately, and which cordial expression will not easily be forgotten.

"But if the mortality proceeds which is begun in my family, I (tho' at present in entire health of body) am not like (if I chance to need your bread) to be a very long time

chargeable to you. For it is now come to mine and my dear and only sister's[1] turn to put off our earthly tabernacles, who are the only rest of twenty (twelve?) children, or thereabouts, of my ever honoured father the 29th Earl of C(orbeil), who haue usually left this world by pairs or couples. When one of the family hath died, another of the family hath died the same year. And when either of us goes, the other will be, I knowe, confident, almost to superstition, that he (or she) shall follow. And God Almighty grant that I do not hear of her sickness, having just cause (as I haue) to be overwhelmed with grief, having in the space of two months (or thereabouts) lost two brothers, a nephew, most unfortunately, (chief of the house) and a Father above all, never enough to be lamented, and who can never be sufficiently immatated, having left a transcendent example to the world of piety, and particularly of Christian charity (to enemies), humility towards all, and patience under all sorts of troubles. And if my sorrow for him did not swallow up all lesser griefs (not allowing me to think of the causes of them) they might, considered severally and joyn'd with the other (which is of itself without much grace insupportable) perfectly sink me by breaking heart or head. And my most mercifull God grant that it may never haue any bad effect on either, since I find that time, and after reflections and remembrances, doth augment as well as renew my trouble. Every place I see where he hath shewn some love towards me, by word or deed, makes me burst out in teares at present, which I could not do at first, tho' I was in his chamber two houres before I beheld the blessed departure of his soule, which I assure myself God hath received, pardoning all his sinnes and errours. You see how incapable I am at present to write

[1] Lady Joanna Thornhill, who died the 7th of January, 1708.

letters of condolences to others, being at this time so great an object of compassion myself, who haue neither space nor time now to say more than that I am

"Your loving friend,
"CORBEIL."

"Your intelligence concerning the unfortunate death of my dear son Ferdinando[1] did much increase my other greif, coming by the same post that brought the news of the death of a brother at the very time when my Father's departure was expected. Say what you can for me to his afflicted relations. I can't say more yet than the good God help them and me and my only sister, who is near a sad spectacle more afflicting than mine, where she can only behold two Earles of C(orbeil) dead—no state—without honour—and, which is more touching, with somewhat of infamy.[2] I beheld my dear F(ather) lay'd honourably, and his hopefull son, so honoured by all, as well as loved, and in such perfect good health and circumstances, that I am assured almost that you will see him to your great joy and comfort, tho' I live not another year, so to do. God's Name be hallowed. God's Kingdom come. God's will be done.

"My F(ather) and M(other) would not allow of the Commissioners' unkind retrenchment of me, but what will be done, now he is in his tomb, God knowes. If I receive somewhat in lieu of my annuity it is like that the method will be changed of monthly payments into quarterly or the end of every six months. I heare not yet from Mr. Brown or his friend Mr. Cholwich. But I know you will take care of me, and I shall pray for you.

[1] Who Ferdinando was is not known.

[2] There was a strong suspicion that Lord Bath's son committed suicide; or the allusion, may be, to the desertion of King James' cause by Lord Bath and his son.

QUEEN MARY OF MODENA.

"Paris, *Oct.* 1, 1701.

"The sorrow of our family, whereof I gave you an account, hath been wonderfully allayed by the hopefulness and good quallityes of our young Master, who charms every body that sees him and is certainly designed to bee a useful man in his generation. God bless him. And this doth temper my greif when I reflect on the havock lately made in my family, which may, I feare, haue great influence on my dear s(ister), from whom I haue not heard some postes, which causes me to suspect that she may be ill, sufferring trouble for others to make too great impression upon her spirit. And if she hears of some lyes which haue been made of my M(other) and of my self, with great malice (improved as usually by passing the sea) she will be apt to take them fondly to heart. The villanous fellow, (a quaker) who abused my Mother, is seized and sent to prison, who justly deserves it. And if I had not had a kind Mother, who still shews her goodness to me to admiration, the lye made on me would haue sent me to jaole also. But, blessed be God, the feare and danger is past, and I am going home to Corbeil to moarne for the great mortallity in the successors to Count Hamon, as well as for my dearest Father. There is but one brother and sister of my own father's children left alive, and if one goes, the other will soon follow, I belieue. I am now, blessed be God, in very good health, but how long it will continue the Lord knows. Praying God to weane us from this wicked world, I subscribe myself your very reall friend to serve you.

"CORBEIL."

"When my Father lay in an agony I said the Office for the sick in my chamber with two or three, sometimes 4 or 5 domesticks, till he expired. And a malitious person,

of the same kidney with the other, made information against me that I had an assembly of 150 persons, and preached to them, which was enough to haue ruined me, if true and proved. But my Mother and all about her haue done me right. God rewarde her.

* * * * *

"God be praised that my Mother and my Brother not only continue but augment their love towards me, and there is not so much as a kitchen-boy in the house who shows any ill will towards me. And my Mother and Brother, having stood my friends (as well as my Fader before his death) the busy folks who designed to geld me will be defeated in their spleen. Only methods may be alter'd and I paid quarterly (as seaven yeares since these 3 months) which will be mighty ill for me, if your punctuality, diligence, and kindness, doth not provide and supply all defects. For I am retiring (by order on a divellish, false, malitious report) to my own house, from whence I must not stir till further order, or the former be revoked, whereof my Mother, (zealous for me beyond imagination) doth not doubt, nor much question to make the persons who haue belyed me to bring a reproach on her and my Brother (as if they had connived at it) punished. Nay, my Mother hopes to bring all about much to my advantage, taking this occasion to tell a great man about the King of F(rance) a long story of me, which may put me into better circumstances than ever. And it seems as great a piece of Providence (God accomplishing His will often by unlikely meanes) as finding out the tomb of my ancestor unawares. So that this mortification is very small; my hopes are more than my feares. And this intended malice is like to get me a better livelihood than my Father's annuity. I am in

perfect health at present, and (though my afflictions rowle on me, like waves of the sea, as Job's did) enjoy through Gods grace some small degree of his patience to support me under them, which, if I goe through them, will make me probably in this world happier than ever. And when so, my dear son Proud will not be overlooked. God bless him and my daughters and all my true friends, and send us a happy meeting. Pray incessantly for me, and for my dear and only sister, on whose life mine much depends. We have always gone by couples; and we are the last. God have mercy on us. This is the truth I tell you and the whole truth. Believe not any reports concerning me, or my Mother, or family. The great slanderer and accuser of the Brethren is loose at present, and imployed to misrepresent good folks, and my Mother (a Saint as certainly as her deceased husband, whom I believe one as much as St. Lewes four hundred yeares ago, who lived in the castle of Corbeil) in a more particular manner (it seems) than others, which to me proves an undoubted argument of her sanctity and other vertues, which I admire, accompanied wth great moderation to those who differ in opinion from her, when they are vertuous. The Eternall God reward her and be always with her and hers. Stop your eares when anyone detracts from her. I am, though labouring under very great and sad temporall losses and exercises of patience, and some melancholly frames (sometimes) which darken my mind, so well comforted by God's Spirit that I esteem myself more happy than when at home, as well as I desire you to . . . . . more than ever.

"Your assured and faithful friend, etc.,

"C.

"If you come now, you must to my little house, or not see me I feare. But that will be best.

"Corbeil, *October 11th*, 1701.

"As concerning my confinement to my house in my beloued town, and seat of my ancestors, I can yet say no more than I haue done already, unless it be that my condition is more easy than it was (as well as my hopes of a happy issue increased) in all respects, but that your letter of the 19th of last month which I expected to haue brought me at least advice of its being actually paid (I meane y^e^ 30^li^) to Mr. William Brown, informes me of a longer delay, by being 3 of the name, which really falls out very unfortunately for me, tho' I cannot blame you. By the raising and falling of money the last two months, merchants themselves haue been put to their trumps, and Mombrun depending to haue my money at least at Michaellmas, which was all due at Lamas, and some at Candlemas past, is not well satisfied, and I know not what to say to him; and it falls ill for me. For as I haue great hopes of gaining by this false imprisonment (being well supported by great folks) as I did by one in the North, yet besides y^e^ paine it creates to my head and eyes, it doth and will for awhile greatly inhance my expence. I know you do, and will do what lyes in your power, with my old restrictions, and I do not expect you to do more than you can do. God reward you for what you haue done, and bless your future endeavours for,

"Your very realle and assured Friend,

"D. Corbeil.

"I take notice of all you
"write about J. B. Lord and Lady
"but can do nor say more
"at this instant."

[Addressed:—] "For Mr. John Proud, at
"Raby Castle, near
"Darlington,
"Yorkshire.
"By Darlington
"Bag,
"Per Londres.

"Corbeil, *November 4th*, 1701.

"I have just now much to my ease and contentment receiued from Mr. Thomas Cholwich of Rouen an order to receiue the value at Paris of the long expected 30li sterling, paid at London to his correspondent Mr. William Brown, to whom also I beseech you to pay for myselfe whateuer monies you can (*honestly* and *honorably*) raise, to be remitted me by Christmas. For monies could neuer come more seasonably to do me service, tho' I haue found since my confinement here more freinds and credit than I euer had in my life; insomuch that my hopes increase that this false imprisonment will haue as good an issue as the other in 1674 in your quarter. I haue unexpectedly found abundance of freinds in the Court of France, and lost none elsewhere, I thank God, but rather received demonstations of their love, in prevention of the defalcation of my salary, which otherwise had been cut of by the commissioners spoken of, who haue only gelded me of 16li sterling per annum, which could not be prevented as matters are ordred. Tho' I am oppress'd with business of thought and pen, yet I thank God I enjoy perfect health of body, and am in hopes of a revocation of ye order for my restraint very speedily, which is all I can say, but that I am,

"Your very loving and assur'd Freind,

"CORBEIL.

"I pray God bless you
"Mr. Proud, and all my freinds.
"I have heard nothing of your Lord's approach."

[Addressed:—] "For Mr. John Proud at Raby Castle,
"near Darlington.
"By Darlington "Yorkshire.
"bag.
"Per Londres."

"Corbeil, *Nov.* 25.

"I continue under the same restraint that I haue been in these two months past, (but remaine still in mine own house and enjoy very good health) there having never yet been any interview betwixt my friends from whom I expected deliverance. But there is like to be one speedily, and I haue some reason to hope it will be for my profitt as well as to my satisfaction, my extraction and descent from the Earls of Corbeil being likely to be amply set forth on this occasion. For the good and most vertuous Widdow (my best friend) continues her kindness to me in a wonderfull manner, and so doth her good-natured Son likewise. And I pray do not belieue any rumours to the contrary and their prejudice.

* * * *

"Yo[r] assured friend,
"CORBEIL."

"Corbeil, *Dec.* 16, 1701.

"MR. PROUD,

* * * *

Our Christmas being now approaching and yours being not like to be far off when this shall come to your hands, it will not be unseasonable to wish you and all my true friends

(you best know who and where they are) a merry Festivall in your country. My good friends here haue lately sent me, for my consolation in captivity and the better celebration of so solemne a time, a whole Cheshire cheese of about 40 lb. weight and half a chest of Monte Pulchano or red Florence wine (having never yet had performance of the Grand Duke's promise) wherewith I will not faile to drink my freind's health this yeare with as much formality and heartiness, as I did last year in Raby humming liquor. I am yet *in statu quo*, a prisoner in mine house, or rather our town, near the tomb of my great ancestors, and sing as merrily, being conscious of nothing but integrity, as the goale-birds in the *Royall Slave*, the famous play made by Cartwright of Christ Church, which Sir G. W(heler) being an Oxford man is acquainted with, if my old friend Dr. Don D. be not. I pray remember me most lovingly to them, after your good wife and my dear children, whom I pray God bless with all my friends.

"Your assured friend,
"J. S."

With such secrecy the poor non-jurors were obliged to conduct their correspondence that they had to adopt false names, and the Dean sometimes signs his letters Corbeil, and sometimes James Stotherd, as in the above. The Dean's quasi-imprisonment terminated after three months by the revocation of the Order, through the influence of the Queen, and in February he writes from Paris as follows:—

"Paris, *February* 3*d*, 1702.

"Being on the place with my *mother*, *brother* and *sister* (who are in perfect health, and receiued me with wonderfull affectionate congratulations, etc.) I received yours of 24th of December last, whereby I understand your

designed payment of 20li sterling to Mr. Brown and readiness to accept my bill much to my satisfaction, whereon I depend, not doubting but you will do all in your power to enable me to struggle with the difficulties which usually attend on such a restraint as I haue undergone, and a 20li per annum defalcation from my annuity by the ouer-officiousness of the commissioners (mention'd heretofore), who had proceeded further had not my father and mother prevented, to whom I am obliged beyond expression.

"The solitary life I haue had during the months of October, November, and December, and all inconveniences I haue suffer'd, are likely to be so well rewarded by some considerable acquaintance I have gained, that I am in no danger of a like blow, but in faire probability of some personall advantage for the future. Insomuch that if my freinds had not suffer'd more than I by what is past, I should esteem my late treatment the happiest rencontre that euer befell me, hauing made out clearely my pretensions to the Earldom of C. and being acknowledged under hand and seale by the D. and Ch. of ye Church of St. Exupère for a kinsman to their founder, whose certificat may turn to accompt in time. Inter Nos.

"Since I obtained liberty to come hither I haue pacified my sister, so as to cause her to cease her sollicitations to quit this wholesome air for one most vile and foggy. And I pray you to endeavour to do the like, if you meet with any who shall renew their motions to perswade me to so destructiue a course to soule and body, to which I can never consent till I perfectly loose my understanding, a course so desperately imprudent to a man of my humour, that I am ashamed to hearken to such advice, or somuch as to think of it. God forgive those who counsell me to a thing so contrary to my whole *method*, *sense*, and *design*.

"As for your motion touching an assignation of y^e^ debt from y^e^ executors, etc. I am willing to comply with it. And I do most heartily thank you for your loving offer of a supply on a pinch from your self; as I do at present for what you have procured from others, which will come most seasonably, there being great scarcety of money among most at present, euen bankers, for want of circulation of coyne.

"I sent my sister a copy of the *Revocation*, whereby you will perceive the goodness of those kind freinds who procured it. I conjure you never to admit into your breast the least jealousy of their kindness to me, or any thought to their prejudice, or to that of their intrest, which I can neuer desert, thinking it a most unnaturall thing to cease to love so kind and indulgent parents; nay most brutall to go and liue away far from them, since they out of tender affection are hardly prevailed with to consent to my liuing one dayes journey from them (as I do when I am at C.) which could not be approved of by themselues or others, were it not manifestly for my health of body, the next valuable blessing to the salvation of the soule. I cannot but admire at the rhetorick and reasoning of those who preferre the air of Holland, or Geneva, before that Brie where I liue. Sir G. in a letter to Lady J. T. perswades to the triall of the air (if not of Holland) of Geneva, or some of the Cantons, or of Venice. As for the air of H. I protest against it, but if he will haue me trie the air of other places for a summer or winter, to see how it will agree with my constitution, let him send me a hundred pound bill for my viaticum, I'le take it into consideration, and tell him my mind, as I did once to a certaine gentleman to whome I sold a dead horse, and whereon hangs a pleasant story well known to (and which hath been well laughed at by) the forementiond lady. If

you two will keep my counsell, and give me leave to use you as tools, I may chance to serue this priest (who labours to seduce) as I did the Jocky who designed to cheat, and afterwards afford some merriment to y^e^ nephew as I did once to the uncle, when I did in y^e^ year 70, by the innocent exercise of my small wit, purchase a famous mourning gown, worn at the funerall of the D. of A.

"The Knight talks of sending comfortable help to me when I shall be at the places specifyed, but I would rather that he send me some before I began my journey, to enable me to undertake so costly a tour. And if he cannot be perswaded to do the one, he is a fool! that will trust him to do the other. It is as safe and easy to remit money to Corbeil, as into the Canton, and it may be imployed better in the reparation of Count H's tomb, than in rowing up and down for divertisement on the Leman Lake, where I have no great mind to fish, tho' I am a keen lover of angling.

"I am, I bless God, in extraordinary good health, and also (as you see in a merrily disposed vein, which I hope is no mortall sinne after so much chagrin as I haue undergone the melancholick year past.

"I leave it to your discretion to make complements for me to all persons of every sex, high and low, upon all accompts, and to all intents. And I shall be glad to hear the thoughts of others, and your own, concerning freeer correspondence etc., tho' I can give you no incouragement to hope that I shall ever turn Trimmer, an amphibious creature well qualified to live in boggs and ponds.

"I say my Lady B.[1] last week, and left her in good health, but am troubled that I discern no likelihood of your coming over, whether or no we haue war, which now all

[1] Lady Barnard, of Raby Castle, with whom Proud was living. Cf. also p. 333.

apprehend. I am, I assure you, a peaceable man and heartily pray dayly from battel and murder and from sudden death *libera Nos.* I remember lovingly to Mrs. Proud, and remain with all sincere affection (whether or no I am permitted to correspond with you, or receive any more assistance from you).

"Your very reall, loving and gratefull
freind to serve you,

"CORBEIL.

"By J. B's going to Holland last moon (as you mention) I fancy that hee is lunatick, and so will he deserve to be esteem'd that goes hence to meet him, and, being valetudinary as I am, that quits a benign air for so bad an one.

"My M. will oblige me to live here some months near her person, to taste of her love visibly, to contradict the foolish and malitious lyes that have flown up and down concerning me and her.

"There cannot be a better way of corresponding in case of interruption, than by Lady B. provided she remaines in Paris.

"God bless you and yours,
"and send you a happy new year."

[Addressed:—] "For Mr. John Proud at Raby
"Castle, near Darlington,
"Yorkshire.
"By Darlington
"bagg.
"Per Londres."

The rumours of a war, alluded to in the above letter, had been heard for over a year. The Dean wrote, in March,

1701, that he heard that there were "forces to be sent out of Ireland and Scotland into Holland," and mentioned that "the Duke of Burgundy was reported as about to take command of an army in Flanders, and that in France preparations were being made on every side." But the following months he states that their apprehensions were over, and that it was generally believed there would be no war, though preparations still went on. "Princes make peace with sword in hand."

The next letter, again dated from Paris, begs urgently for a remittance of money owing to him, and once more alludes to "considerable irons in the fire," referring, we may suppose, to his claim to be a descendant from the Earls of Corbeil.

"Paris, April 26, 1702.

"MR. PROUD,—The last letter I received from you (the beginning of February last) was without date, but I guessed it to be written about the middle of January. It brought me advice of money, and informed me that you had ordred my 15^{li} rent, and 25^{li} collections, to be paid Mr. William Brown, for the *vse of Mr. Thomas Chollwich*; whereof Mr. Thomas Cholwich had no advice of its payment from Mr. Brown, nor I from Mr. Cholwich till 15 dayes since, when he sent an order to his freind to pay the value, as designed by you. This retardment, as I mention'd to you awhile since, hath been extraordinary prejudiciall, and almost broken me after other hardships last winter (I relying on your supply), but it hath pleased Almighty God to carry me through all my difficultyes better than I could expect

(blessed be his name), and after 4 monthes straits (robbing Peter to pay Paul) I have brought my debts (which are about 50^{li} sterling) into the hands of my marchant Mombrun and another tradesman, who are civill enough to me (in forbearing), but cannot supply me with one farthing of money more for my present necessities, which are pressing in prosecution of some projects, which are very likely and probable to turn to account in the month of September at Fountainbleau, when the French Court shall be there assembled, wherein I have by Divine Providence secured two or three considerable patrons, of great integrity and goodness. I beseech you therefore once more for God's sake to bestir your self, and labour to send me another *remit* by Pentecost, with an advance if possible, of Lammas-rent, (by reason of y^{e} failure of the two last half years) which may prove doubly advantagious to me at this juncture, having considerable irons in the fire. And there needs no other nor better method of return, than to pay money to Mr. Brown for y^{e} use of Mr. Cholwich, who is an honest man, and will dispose of your money according to your mind, only you must enquire what hath been the cause at London of last retardments, and strive to prevent them. Your letters may be without danger sent as before, and will come to my hands at my house in the county of Bry or places adjacent, where I shall spend the summer, hauing had full satisfaction of my freinds' company in these quarters.

"Remember me with all due love and respects to my true freinds and kind benefactors, and according to your discretion distribute my complements and thanks. I am, blessed be God, in very good health of body, and as firmely as euer resolved to oppose sin and errour, to the end of my dayes.

"Praying to God to carry us well through all the changes and chances of this mortall life, and where we are most weak there to magnify his power in our preservation,

"I subscribe my self,

"Your ever loving and assured Freind,

"CORBEIL.

"We hope there will be no war proclaimed betwixt England and France, and consequently no impediment to correspondence by letter or money, with merchants or such private men as my self in the country. Howeuer I would be glad to know your thoughts, whereby I'le take my measures.

"God bless you and wife.

"I haue been in great pain for you of late."

But a few months after the above was written, war was at last declared, and all direct correspondence between England and France was interrupted. This made it very difficult for the Dean to receive his remittances from England, and he was in consequence reduced to great straits. "I haue been unhappily deprived of a 20li supply my dear s(ister) designed me in May and have little hopes, tho' great need, of what I expect from you before and at Lammas. But I haue made an attempt to get my Lammas rent paid to a friend of mine in Holland by your Lord[1] on my order to you to reserve the same in your hands for the use of his Lordship, and which is so seasonable a thing that it ought not to be denyed, but whether he may not, out of over cautiosness, deny me, I cannot tell. But it will be without cause. For I am a private country-man living at Corbeil, the seat of my forefathers (where I may now chance

[1] Lord Barnard.

to lay my bones) far from all Courts, and never meddling with politicks, and giue no ground for any to feare to assist me or correspond with me. If any others be shye to deale with me (as matters stand) I hope you will not. And to informe you how you may correspond by Holland during the war I send you this address 'à Monsieur—Monsieur Loftus chez Monsieur Claude Loüis de Surmount, Banquier, à Amsterdam Pour rendre a Monsieur de Corbeil.'

"If my project (the petition to the King) doth not succeed I am like to be miserably poor next winter as well as this summer. I am putting off one servant maid and going to sell a beloved horse. But tho' intercourse by way of Holland may be much more costly, it may chance that there is an easy and direct correspondence betwixt Newcastle and Amsterdam or Rotterdam, and monies lodged there I can easily draw here. Care will be taken that money paid to Monsieur Claude Loüis de Surmont pour Monsieur de Corbeil, friend of Mr. Loftus, will come to my hands."

In November of that year he writes:—

"My hopes of success at Court (on a project) being delayed, and people here (who are kind to me here to their power) being much impoverished by the war, my condition is so much more necessitous; which causes me to beseech you for God's sake to do all you can, with greatest speed, to send me what you can, whether rent or friendly gratuities. And I beg you to advance your Candlemas rent so I intreat my kind friends (if they intend me any New-Year's gifts) to advance me their benevolences, since their kindness will be double if it be speedy."

And again on November 20th:—

"So soon as I received on the ninth instant yours of the

first of last month, at my return home, with a seasonable supply of 20li, I hasten'd away a letter of thanks calculated for the view of the administrator, as you hinted, and written as well as I could in evill humour and circumstances; and I design'd very speedily after to have written you for your own eye a large one with reflections on a multitude of things which much trouble my mind, relating to my present and future circumstances, as well as past ones. But having but lately recover'd my eyes spoil'd by over imploying, and lost my secretary, for . . . expedition the first day after my arrival, when I had more business of writing on my hands than I could go thorow, I haue delay'd post after post (having you know too dilatory a nature) till this day, when I set myself in a posture to write you a terrible long letter, with minutes before me containing matter enough to fill three or four sheets, and had very likely occasion'd you the trouble of perusing at least a couple. But I am likely to be prevented, by a new infirmity I begin to feel in my body, from finishing and sending you one whole one. I do just now begin to feel a pain in my reins which much disturbs me. But I hope it is only a touch of the rheumatism, occasion'd by bending my body after sitting long at my pen, and will soon pass away. But if it should prove, instead of a new, an old distemper, I mean the sciatica, which I had about 15 days three years ago, it will much afflict me, having no manservant nor mankind in my house with me; my family, which last winter, with my self, during my restraint, consisted of 5 persons (Mr. Cook and son, an old and a young woman) being reduced to one, that is to say, my young woman, whom I haue bred up from a child, who will perchance be put to her trumps more than I, if my indisposition come to a sciatica, and disable me to turn in my bed, as my last fit did, and created trouble enough to

my old woman and my man Jones, assisted with the gentlewoman of the house, when I did eat or drink. For it is a mighty modest shamefac'd girl, tho' she will readily do, I know, all that lies in her power to help me. But if it please God that it should be so, my comfort is that I live among kind neighbours, very charitable and ready to do good offices to my body, and to my soul too, which is charity mistaken and more than I desire, and which is at present a great burden to me and the heaviest I undergo. For tho' I haue hitherto escap'd this troublesome application very well from the priests of the town, who are civil well bred people, no bigots, yet since their gaining a certain great lord,[1] whereof I suppose Mr. Cook has inform'd you, to their party, they begin to fall upon me, poor man, very unmercifully, hoping that since they have overborn the chief laick, they shall over power the first ecclesiastick. This occasions me to write, tho' I will be drawn into no formal dispute, beyond my strength, and robs me of much time; for I cannot be so rude as not to return any answer at all to the letters and papers they send me with civility and good meaning, however their zeal be ill grounded; and proves too a kind of persecution, as Father Touchet's was to you, about 30 years since, at St. James's. I do therefore, for the honour of my family, descended from their noble founder and benefactor, like a gentleman receive their visits as well as papers, behaving myself; remembring I haue a sword by my side, like a cavalier rather than Divine, thrusting by their subtle logical argumentations as well as I can, having neuer been good at such kind of fighting, and besides this being no countrey for it. I shew an aversion to all disputes, and take no poste willingly but that of an

[1] The Earl of Middleton turned Roman Catholic about this time, and his influence at St. Germain's after that event became almost unbounded.

inquirer, asking questions; and if they let me alone here I am hard enough for them all, since a fool can ask more questions than a wise man can answer. This intercourse that is unhappily begun betwixt me and Roman priests here and elsewhere, is not like I am afraid to conclude, though I add no fuel to their fire, but labour to extinguish their zeal. And my trouble is much increas'd by a necessity of keeping copies of all I write; and to copy fair my own writings, which are horribly blotted and interlin'd, is death to me, or at best, it extreamly hurts my eyes. This, with the personal application by way of letters, which hath long been incumbent on me, to my scatter'd, scambling, and sometimes scabby sheep, together with other necessary writing, relating to my study as well as temporall affairs, creates an absolute necessity, for the comfort of my life and preservation of my health, to procure some person to live with me that is able to discharge the office of an amanuensis, and understands French and English as well as Latin, and becomes more necessary to me than to most, because I haue an incurable infirmity of prolixity in all, even my best writings, if any deserve that name; and to analize and abridge would be alone great service to me."

(The rest is wanting).

"*January 29th*, 1703.

"DEAR PROUD,—After a long silence for many monthes, I haue receiued a letter from you by the way of Holland, of the 24th of December last, which informes me of your indisposition, which troubles me more than my want of money, tho' that be great, and hath been so this last year by reason of the war. I pray God bless you, and restore you to your health, for better purposes than to render me

services, however I value them at a great rate. I clearly discern that you do all that lyes in your power for me, and I can desire no more.

"I hope I shall receive from Mr. Arthur of London speedy advice to his brother here of the 15li you mention. But I cannot tell whether it be for this Candlemas-rent or for Lammas-rent last past. The letter which I directed for you at Fairlane to be forwarded (which you have not received I perceiue by yours) was cheifly to informe you, that I gaue your Lady when she went hence in June last for Holland, an order on you to reserve in your hands my Lammas-rent for your Lord's use there, desiring to receiue the value of it here, (forseeing an interruption of correspondence) where of her Ladyship gave me hopes, promising to propose it to her Lord, and to perswade him to accept of my note, and to send advice to Mr. Arthur, or some other Banquier here to pay me the summe I desired, but I have heard never since from Lord, or Lady about it, nor have had my note return'd to my wonder. I did, I confess, soon after her departure, very seasonably receive a remitt of 20li from you (by Brown and Cholwich) whereof you had giuen me hopes in the spring) which I look'd on as an extraordinary supply. But you now giving me hopes of no more than 15li certain at the conclusion of another half year ending at Candlemas, I begin to be in some doubt, whether that 20li was an extraordinary (the whole summe) or intended in part for my Lammas-rent. I should be glad to bee resolued concerning it, and my aforesaid note given to my Lady (since letters will pass freely by our new way of corresponding directed as your last), as also to receive a very particular account of your health, which is most heartily and incessantly prayed for by your unalterable, and truly affectionate Freind,

"CORBEIL.

"I haue had a fit of y^e^ gout and kept much within doors this winter, but am in good health at present. I thank you for your endeavours to promote my intrest at London. You talk of one Mr. C. who has promised to get some small remit for me. It it be my old acquaintance who once *crow'd* very wrong I shall wonder, and be wel pleased, hoping he begins to repent of exposing his superiours and to be sensible that there may be truth spoken sometimes out of season. I pray God bless your wife."

[Addressed:—] "For Mr. John Proud at
"Raby Castle, near
"Darlington,
"Yorkshire.
"By Darlington
"ba'gg.
"per Londres."

In February, he writes still more urgently:—

"I writ to you a while since to give you an account of my health and condition, and also to informe you that I had received yours of the 24th of December past, wherein you promised to pay with expedition £15 to Mr. Arthur, which I have with great impatience expected hitherto, without any further advice concerning the same, and with the more uneasiness because we have been weekly in feare of late that all intercourse of letters by Holland would have been stop'd also, as they are like to be from the beginning of May next for the space of an yeare, as this day's Gazette informes us. The stopping of intercourse by way of Holland as well as Calais is very afflicting, and for God's sake consider well how you may improve these two months allowed for people to settle their affaires, for my advantage. Consult

Mr. Arthur by letter about my concernes. He will be as officious, I hope, to assist and serve his friend Corbeil as he was his friend James Stothard, and direct you to convey by Hambrough, or some other way, when you can't by Holland. But such correspondence is like to be terribly expensive as well as tedious, if there prove any which are not certaine. Wherefore, for the love of God, bethink and bestir yourself kindly to do all things in your power by way of precaution in this matter, as becomes a wise man and a kind friend. There was a good legacy[1] given the other yeare, but there are such contests betwixt the sole administrator and the gardians, there are small hopes of getting any share of that, tho' there be one yeare and a half past. So that it is necessary to secure some other supply, and what I expect from you is all the butter to my bread I can rely on. And if that faile me there, as my head begins to do here, I shall be in a lamentable case as to temporalls. There is a great hole made in my loaf. For besides a sixth part that was cut off, when I lost my best friend the King and all was in danger, there hath been another retrenchment this year, the war making money very scarce every where, in so much that there was another part of the remainder cut off in January last, and I am beholden to a good lady that there was not a greater defalcation, if not of the whole. Besides, my bold projects, on the discovery of the tomb of my ancestor, do not yet succeed. I had hopes last Autumne, and others at New Year's day, from a great man who would have shewn some favour to a founder's kinsman, it was believed; but my expectation yet produces nothing. My firmness in my religion is the great obstruction in that matter, out of which some would willingly starve me, but

[1] Alluding, no doubt, to a legacy of £100 left to him as one of the overseers of Lord Bath's will.

I trust in God they will be mistaken; for neither *hunger* nor *nakedness* will have any force on mee, I hope, to betray my innocency. I haue a sad prospect, at present, from the comforts of this world, which makes me lift up my eyes more fixedly to those of the other. I did read lately with very great affection the 17 18 and 19 verses of the 3rd of Habakak, which, tho' often read, was not thorowly consider'd by me. But now in my extremity the confidence of the prophet is a powerfull example and affords me much consolation. Come what will, I will (by the grace of the Almighty) '*rejoice in the Lord and joy in the God of my salvation.*' '*If I am bereaved, etc., I am bereaved. If I perish I perish.*' God bless you and yours. While there is correspondence by Holland let me heare from you. I am yours,

"CORBEIL."

This is the last letter the brave old man penned to his faithful friend and servant. The previous June he had written complaining of his head. 'There hath been long, and now (methinks) more than euer, a cloud upon my understanding, accompanied with great irresolution and weakness in my will, which not only indisposes me, but renders me almost wholy unfit for all kinds of devotions and study as well as secular businesse. Pray heartily for me. I am

[1] "17. Although the fig tree shall not blossom, neither *shall* fruit *be* in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and *there shall be* no herd in the stalls:

"18. Yet I will rejoice in the LORD, I will joy in the God of my salvation.

"19. The LORD God *is* my strength, and he will make my feet like hinds' *feet*, and he will make me to walk upon mine high places."

in very good health of body as to eating, drinking, sleeping, and walking, and appeare to others as before; but God knowes there is a great alteration as to my interior. My head is so confused that I cannot dispatch so much business of thought or pen in three days, as I was accustomed (tho' never very good at dispatch) in one. This *inter nos*. Keep it to yourself. Reveal it to none but you and my dear and only sister."

On the 10th of April, Mr. Ralph Wingate writes from London to Proud, at the instigation of Sir William Ellis, to say that his "good old acquaintance D.G. has not heard from him these four months and is in great want." But though Proud made every effort to send him money through Mr. Arthur, the French merchant in London, through whose intervention money had previously been admitted, it arrived too late. He sickened with ague and fever on Thursday, the 12th of April, at Corbeil, and continued ill all that night and the next day, but on Saturday, the 14th, finding himself something better, he actually managed to walk twelve miles to his lodgings in Paris, at the house of Monsieur Mombrun, upon the Fosseè St. Victoire. The next day, the 15th, the ague and fever returned, and continued the 16th and 17th, and on Wednesday, the 18th, at 6 a.m., he died, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. Dr. Taylour, of Sevenstoke, in Worcestershire, another non-juror divine, administered the Holy Communion to him on his death-bed. Monsieur Mombrun wrote to Lady Joanna Thornhill, and gave her some particulars of his last illness. His words are these:—"Il se trouva fort foible et debilité, ce qu'il obligea de se mettre au lict, ou il resta jusqu' au jour d'hier 6 heures du matin qu'il est mort, non comme un homme ordinaire, mais comme un vaillant, brave, et genereux combatant, et dans toutes les regles de la reli-

gion Anglicane. Je prie le Seigneur d'avoir son ame en sa sainte garde.' '

He was privately buried in consecrated ground in the lower end of the Holy Innocents' churchyard, in Paris, either that or the next night, by Dr. Taylour; a privilege procured by Queen Mary, who also paid all the funeral expenses, and sent her own Secretary to attend the funeral as her representative. There were two mourning coaches, and his nephew, Mr. Thomas Higgons, and a few of his acquaintances belonging to the Church of England, followed as mourners.

The following is the preamble of his will, dated the 1st of June, 1695:—

"In Dei Nomine Amen etc. Imprimis, I give and bequeath my soul to God Who gave it, beseeching Him to accept thereof for the merits and sake of my dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, washing it in His Blood from all the guilt and defilement which it contracted in this sinful world, through the mediation of Whom, my sole Mediator and Advocate, I doe, renouncing my owne righteousnesse, and disclaiming my own merits, and the meritts of all others, firmly hope to be saved and admitted into the Kingdom of heaven, to enjoy euerlasting happinesse and glory; desiring all men to take notice, that as I have lived so I desire, and stand resolved, to dye a true Christian (not Roman) Catholick, and right loyall member and obedient son of the Church of England; I mean of the old orthodox Church of England, whereof I (tho' unworthy) haue the honour to be a Priest, and wherein I haue born office, and been dignified for three and thirty years: which Church I believe the most pure and sound for its doctrine, best regulated for its discipline and worship, of any Church in

Christendome, and consequently, the most happily and unexceptionally reformed of all those churches which were, by the impositions, abuses, and corruptions of the Church of Rome, forced to depart from her; moreover declaring to all the world that the more I haue looked into and considered her constitution the more I haue found her, what I euer believed her since my first acquaintance with her excellent rules, the most dutifull daughter of the Holy Catholick Church; being, of all others I know of the most Apostolick and conformable to the most pure and primitive times, and soe clear from the imputation of novelty, (whereof she is falsely accused) that all the doctrine which she makes essential to salvation, is as ancient as the Apostles, whose religion in substance was as ancient as the 'Jews', the oldest religion in the world.

"As for my body I bequeath it to the earth from whence it was taken, desiring only it may be here in France (provided I dye in this Kingdome) as decently laid thereinto as our evil circumstances, in the want of publick worship and Christian burial, will allow of, not being much concerned what becomes of my carcase when it shall please God to separate it from my soule."

A portrait[1] of the Dean, after Beaupoille, engraved by the famous Edenlinck, is prefixed to the copy of his "Farewell Sermons, etc.," in the Bodleian, and is marked as one of the rarest prints in the British Series. The print has the following inscriptions. Round the portrait:—

"DIONYSIUS GRANVILLE, DECANUS DUNELMENSIS ÆT SUÆ 54. Beaupoille pinxit. G. F. Edelinck sculp."

[1] This portrait has been reproduced in this volume to face page 334. The portrait of him as a child, which appears as the frontispiece, is taken from a picture in the possession of F. J. Thynne, Esq., of Haynes Park, Bedford, the present owner of the Granville estates in Cornwall.

Below:—

"Impensus Thomæ Hacquet Rotomagensis hospitis."

Underneath, is a shield, with the Granville bearings, three horseman's rests, having an inscription on either side, as follows:—

"Serenissimum Dominum Jacobum Secundum Magnæ Britanniæ Regem secutus est in Galliam. Anno 1688.

"2. Propter fidelitatem suam Domino Regi Principe Arauciacensi Coronam Angliæ usurpante deprivatus fuit. Anno 1691."

One of these prints he sent to his faithful servant Proud, in 1701. He describes it as "an old acquaintance of yours, that hath lived long enough near the Sorbonne to take a doctor's degree, and therefore you must not wonder if he be sent you in the habit of one." He requests that it may be placed "in a handsome oval frame of the largeness of y^e^ oval of the picture," and he describes the print as having been "ingeniously painted over." Such a coloured print in an oval frame is now in the possession of Major Bevil Granville, of Wellesbourne, and is probably, therefore, the print alluded to.

Thus passed to his rest one to whose conscience the command, "Fear God," scarcely commended itself more forcibly than its complement, "Honour the King." Of the sincerity of his religious feelings there can be little doubt. He possessed an ardent and impetuous temperament, which was accompanied, as is often the case, with infirmities and consequent errors, of which no one was more conscious than he himself, but his high-minded consistency and loyalty were such that whatever we may think of his prudence,

and of the practicability of his views, we are bound to honour the man, who choose rather to sacrifice "the best deanery, the best archdeaconry, and one of the best livings in England" than to swear allegiance to one whom he, at least, regarded as an invader and usurper.

His brother Bernard's son, George Granville, created Lord Lansdowne by Queen Anne in 1711, gives the following warm and laudatory expressions of his character in a letter addressed to his nephew, Bevil Granville, upon his entering into Holy Orders.

"You had an uncle Dr. Dennis Granville, Dean of Durham, whose memory I shall ever revere; make him your example. Sanctity sat so easy, so unaffected, and so graceful upon him that in him we beheld the very beauty of holiness. He was as chearful, as familiar, and condescending in his conversation as he was strict, regular and exemplary in his piety; as well bred and accomplished as a courtier; as reverend and venerable as an apostle; he was indeed in every thing apostolical, for he abandoned all to follow his lord and master. May you resemble him! May he revive in you! May his spirit descend upon you, as Elijah's upon Elisha! And may the great God of heaven, in guiding, directing and strengthening, your pious resolutions, pour down His best and choicest blessings upon you."

APPENDIX.

THE following List of Offences in respect of which proceedings were taken in the Court of the Archdeacon of Durham, from 1673 to 1677, is an interesting illustration of the state of the Church at this period of her history, and of the determination and vigour with which her coercive powers were brought to bear upon delinquents.

I. Offences against various Ordinances, Ministrations, and Canons of the Church, recorded under different heads, viz.—

1. Total absence from Church.
2. Negligent coming to Church.
3. Not frequenting the Church.
4. Refusing to come to the Church.
5. Not coming timely to the Church.
6. Behaving rudely in the Church.
7. Not kneeling in service time.
8. Not receiving the Holy Communion, especially at Easter.
9. Coming to receive the Sacrament without due preparation.
10. Having arrived at the age of twenty-two years without having ever received the Holy Communion.
11. Baptism, contrary to the Liturgy of the Church, by a Non-conformist.
12. Parents keeping their children unbaptized, or carrying them to be baptized by a Popish priest.
13. Mothers not being churched.
14. Refusing to be catechized.

15. Profanation of Sundays and Holydays, such as:—

i. Grinding on the Lord's Day.
ii. Quarrelling on the Lord's Day.
iii. Drinking in service time, and suffering people to drink in service time.
iv. Commonly drinking on the Lord's Day.
v. Gaming in service time.
vi. Being a common carder on Sundays.
vii. Using unlawful games on the Lord's Day, and alluring others thereto.
viii. Opening shops on holydays, especially on Christmas Day.
ix. Working on holydays.
x. Ploughing on St. Luke's Day.

16. Speaking scandalous words against the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed.
17. Not suffering the dead to be buried according to the Rubrick.
18. Burying a mother and daughter out of the parish, and not paying the fees.
19. Keeping a burial-place without lawful authority.
20. Enclosing a burial-place for sectaries.
21. Carrying a child to be buried at Benfielde.[1]
22. Clandestine marriage.

II. Incontinence, under several heads:—

i. Adultery.
ii. Fornication.
iii. Incest.
iv. Ante-nuptial fornication.

[1] Benfieldside, in the parish of Lanchester, was one of the first places in the North of England, where a Quaker Meeting-house was established. *See* Leslie's "Snake in the Grass," p. 139 (works, vol. ii., ed. 1721), for a singular account of a Meeting at John Hunter's of Benfieldside.

v. Suspicion of incontinence.
vi. Suspicion of adultery.
vii. Living in unlawful marriage, or cohabiting in fornication.

III. Being a common drunkard.

IV. Scandalous life.

V. Offences of the tongue.
i. Swearing.
ii. Scolding.
iii. Uncharitable words.
iv. Abusive speeches to the Minister.
v. Abusing the churchwardens, and calling the office a roguish office.

VI. Neglect of duty on the part of churchwardens:—
i. Not appearing at the Visitation.
ii. Not giving in their accounts.
iii. Not coming to the public meetings in the Church, and not finding bread and wine for the Communion.
iv. Not repairing seats in the Church, and not mending a cracked bell.
v. Neglect of the office.
vi. Refusing the office.

VII. Offences against the Ministers of the Church:—
i. Not paying Easter offerings and other dues to the Minister.
ii. Not paying fees for banns of matrimony being published.
iii. Not paying tythe for a mill.
iv. Irreverent behaviour to the Rector of Washington.

VIII. Not paying clerk's dues, and witholding the accustomed wages of the parish clerk.

IX. Not paying assessments to the repair of the Church.

X. Neglect of the church-yard:—

i. Not fencing in part of the church-yard.
ii. Not repairing church-yard wall.
iii. Profanation of church-yard.
iv. Suffering swine to root in the church-yard.

XI. Detaining legacies bequeathed to the poor.

XII. Not certifying penances.

XIII. Intruding into Mrs. Hackmas' pew.[1]

XIV. Detaining Bishop Jewell's works from the Church.

XV. Uncivil behaviour.

XVI. Offenders against the Act of Uniformity:—

i. Papists and Popish Recusants.
ii. Anabaptists.
iii. Quakers.
iv. Sectaries, separtists that refuse to come to the public assemblies and prayers of the Church, schismatics, and offenders against all order.

XVII. Schismatical Acts:—

i. Frequenting conventicles.
ii. Keeping meeting-houses or conventicles for preaching, baptizing, and marrying.
iii. Speaking, preaching, and praying in an unlawful conventicle without authority.
iv. Being a seducer.[2]
v. Teaching schools without license, and refusing to teach the Church Catechism.

[1] This is a curious presentment. It is clear that we must go back to a period anterior to the 17th century for precedents in favour of free-and-open churches.

[2] Seducing others, *i.e.*, from their allegiance to the Church of England.

From a tabulated statement extant it appears that 192 persons charged with incontinence, 381 with absence from church, 106 with keeping their children unbaptised, and 64 for clandestine marriages, or for cohabiting in fornication, were proceeded against in the Archdeacon's Court during these five years; but it must be remembered that the latter stigma attached to those whose union had not been solemnized according to the ritual of the Church of England. Those against whom proceedings were taken for this offence, either under the appellation in question or the more delicate definition of clandestine marriage, had, in some cases, been married by a Romish priest or according to the forms in use amongst the Quakers and other Sectarians.

During the same period, 487 Papists and Popish Recusants; 50 Anabaptists; 103 Quakers; and 87 Sectarians, were proceeded against; but these figures do not give an accurate idea of the numbers of those in the Archdeaconry who did not conform to the Church of England at this time. Some parishes appear to have scarcely a presentment on the score of Romanism or Sectarianism; yet in those same parishes numbers had presentments against them for refusing to come to the Sacraments and Service of the Church. Sometimes, too, the head of a party only appears to have been presented, as at Eshe in 1673, under which year Sir Edward Smythe, the chief proprietor in the place, is the only one whose name occurs. In 1676 the proceedings included his family and dependents, and the list of Romanists there is swelled to 20.

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AUTHOR

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